The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1888.

The Week.

EARLY in the month of September, when the quotations from the London *Times* and *Spectator* and *Iron Era* began to look rather brassy, somebody in California conceived the idea of getting a letter out of Lord Sackville, the British Minister at Washington, that might be used for campaign purposes. He wrote professing to be a naturalized British-American, named Murchison, who asked for advice how to cast his vote at the coming election. He received a reply, dated September 13, which he held till the 22d of October, and then, though it was marked "Private," gave to the newspapers. Looked at in its true light, the letter is a well-meant although mistaken endeavor to satisfy an inquiring mind, under the seal of private correspondence. But it turns out that there is no such person as "Murchison," and that the writer was probably the local reporter of a California newspaper, who acted as decoy for the Republican managers. In other words, the letter which is now being used as the principal Republican campaign document, is the product of a petty fraud, of which intelligent and respectable Republicans in the earlier days of the party would no more have thought of availing themselves than of sharing in the profits of a confidence man. To this complexion it has come at last!

Next to the wonder which Lord Sackville's Murchison letter occasioned, must be placed the astonishment that Lord Salisbury should have failed to act upon the hint conveyed to him by Mr. Bayard, that the British Minister was no longer *persona grata* at Washington, and that his presence in a diplomatic capacity was henceforth objectionable. Probably Lord Salisbury had conveyed some kind of hint to Lord Sackville, expecting the latter to relieve him from the embarrassment of a formal recall. If so, we may attribute the tenacity with which Lord Sackville clung to his post to the same mental obtuseness that prompted him to write the Murchison letter. Between the British Minister and his chief, the original scandal has grown to considerably larger proportions, and now becomes a somewhat harrowing incident, akin to that which disturbed the earlier days of President Cleveland's Administration, when two European Governments successively refused to receive a particular person as the American Minister at their respective courts.

The dismissal of Lord Sackville is simply one of the train of consequences of the fisheries dispute—a dispute which would never have given the least trouble or uneasiness if there had been no Irish vote at stake. Both parties have been to blame for the use they have made of it; but the Republican party has been most to blame, because it took the lead in demagogy, and fairly pushed and goaded the Democrats into the same muddy pathway. By rejecting a fair and honorable treaty, by declaring against any treaty or any negotiations for one, by calling aloud for retaliation under an act which avoided all responsibility on the part of Congress for the unhappy consequences that might follow, by deriding the President from day to day, and charging him with want of courage and want of patriotism, they sought to win the votes of a class to whom American citizenship is secondary to their Irish origin, and whose patriotism looks only to means for spiting England. In order to test their sincerity, the President sent in his retaliation message, and then they became straightway dumb until the Sackville letter appeared. What they have done and said since is too fresh in the public mind to need recital.

A new Republican campaign document (not a forgery, but almost as bad) has been brought to our notice. It is dated Philadelphia, October 27, and is signed William W. Justice, Chairman. It is entitled "A Word to Farmers," and it sets forth the advantages to farmers of the tariff on grain, and says that if the Mills bill becomes a law, "grain will undoubtedly be placed on the free list also." Then it states that "with grain on the free list we would find our markets flooded with Russian and Indian wheat whenever the price here was higher than in Europe." The implication of this is that the price of wheat being higher here than in Europe is something of frequent occurrence, and likely to happen at any time. What are the facts? Simply these: that our annual exports of wheat rose steadily from $643,745 plus $7,098,570 of flour in 1850, to $190,546,305 plus $35,333,197 of flour in 1880, and were last year $90,716,481 in addition to $51,950,082 of flour. During this period of thirty-eight years there has been a progressive gain in the exports of wheat and flour, with variations depending upon the state of the harvest in this and other countries. What likelihood is there that the time will ever come when we shall be importing wheat from Russia and India, so that the farmer can have his innings at the game of grab, at which he has been cheated ever since protective tariffs began in this country?

A notable feature of the close of the canvass is the disposition of the Republicans to drop the tariff issue. Invitations from Democrats for joint debates upon this question are declined, as in the case of the Brooklyn Congressional District, where Mr. Coombs, the tariff-reform candidate, is anxious to appear before the people in company with his high-tariff opponent. A member of the New Hampshire Democratic State Central Committee reports that the Republicans in that commonwealth are dropping the tariff issue, and taking to personal abuse of the President and the waving of the bloody shirt. In Indiana the editor of the leading Republican paper, the Indianapolis *Journal*, is on the stump, devoting all his speeches to the bloody shirt. In Illinois, Gov. Oglesby is delivering speeches of precisely the same order. All this means that the "tariff scare" has not worked, and in their rage the Republicans are falling back on the old "rebel scare," which ceased to frighten anybody years ago.

The notion that the high-tariff men have no theory, is one of the strangest which have made their appearance in the canvass. It seems to have especially taken hold of Gen. Harrison, and to have originated in his mind that very absurd alliteration, "maxims and markets." The Protectionists have, like all human beings who are engaged in any policy or course of conduct, a very distinct theory. A theory is simply the belief that if one does certain things, certain other things will result. Every man acts on a theory from the moment he leaves his bed in the morning. He dresses, breakfasts, goes to business, and does his day's work on four distinct theories. What our simple-minded friend Gen. Harrison means when he calls the tariff reformers theorists, or "men of maxims," and the protectionists, practical men, or "men of markets," is simply that the "men of markets" make money out of their theory, while "the men of maxims" make none. He thinks the reformer's theory or maxim ought not to receive attention, because he does not add to his yearly income by it. What makes this notion very funny is, that it has been used in defence of every abuse the world has seen. The barons on the Rhine opposed the freedom of the river on the ground that the advocates of it had no practical knowledge of the pleasures and advantages of trussing travellers, and merely theorized about free rivers in their studies in Cologne and Antwerp. The proposal to put down blackmailing by the Highland clans on the Scottish border was resisted on the same ground—that the payment of blackmail gave security to the farmers who paid it, and an assured income to the Cateran chiefs, who were all practical men, familiar with affairs of this nature, while the enemies of blackmail were Glasgow and Edinburgh professors, who dreamed dreams and spun theories, and compounded maxims in their libraries. Not one of them had ever been out on a foray, or had ever driven a captured herd, or knew a single trail or ford along the border.

John Wanamaker, the great shopkeeper of Philadelphia, is one of the electors-at-large for the State of Pennsylvania on the Harrison ticket, and is one of the most zealous workers for the Republican party in the country. He is especially concerned for the interests of the American workingman, whom he burns to protect from the competi-

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tion of the "pauper labor" of Europe. The amusing discovery has just been made that Mr. Wanamaker employs the "pauper labor" of Europe himself, having a factory for the manufacture of ladies' and children's apparel, jersey jackets, etc., at No. 15 Kurstrasse, Berlin. There is nothing strange about this discovery, however. Mr. Wanamaker has repeatedly urged the people of Philadelphia to buy goods made abroad in a free-trade country by "pauper labor," in preference to goods made by protected labor in this country, on the openly avowed ground that the former were the cheaper. The Philadelphia *Press* of June 10, 1886, contained a prominent advertisement by Mr. Wanamaker, of which the following extract is a fair sample:

We are often asked why we go 3,000 miles for things we can make at home.
The shortest answer is, We don't.
There's a heap of meaning in that little word, "thing."
American collars and cuffs, not quite so good as these we tell of now and then as coming from over the sea, we could get for 50 per cent. more money.
American collars and cuffs are made in Troy. . . . The skill of the country is gathered there. That skill controls the country.
There's a keener skill abroad, or better organization, or better facilities. Better collars and cuffs for the money.
We bring these better collars and cuffs and put them right by the side of the best American. Which will you buy?
The question is answered. You are thinking of money. The money is yours. Is it wholesome to bolster Troy at a cost of a third of your money? Is it worth your while? Will you do it? We are not such ninnies as to seriously ask you.
That's the way you reason as buyers. That's the way we reason as merchants.

Mr. Wanamaker now joins Senator Hawley upon the Chinese wall platform. He says that he buys many lines of goods abroad because he can buy them cheaper there; but he would much rather have all foreign goods shut out, so that he could buy everything in this country at higher prices. Undoubtedly, too, his customers would infinitely prefer to have him buy everything at higher prices, because then they could pay higher prices when they went to his shop. The truth is, that what this country really needs to make it prosperous is a general advance of prices. If everybody only had to pay a good deal more every time he bought anything, poverty would be abolished, and economy would no longer need to be practised by anybody. Mr. Wanamaker, as Republican candidate for elector-at-large in Pennsylvania, is ready to do his share towards bringing about the millennium. "The present protection," he says, "is evidently not enough," and for his part he wants to raise duties, "because I want to shut out foreign goods."

The Knights of Labor at Pittsburgh have been investigating the tariff-wages question for themselves, with reference particularly to the wages paid at the Carnegie Steel Rail Works at Braddock, Pa., and at the iron and steel works at Chicago. They find and report that a fair comparison is as follows: At Braddock—blast-furnace department, turn twelve hours, Keeper, $2.23; first helper, $1.70; second helper, $1.60. At Chicago—Keeper, $3.25; first helper, $2.60; second helper, $2.45. This difference is much less than that reported by Mr. John Jarrett in his testimony before the Senate Committee on Labor as existing between the wages of the Bethlehem Iron Works and those of the Chicago Mills. But, since the tariff is the same for Chicago that it is for Braddock and for Bethlehem, the question becomes important, What influence does the tariff exercise on wages, anyway? If a man receives $3.25 for a given amount of work at Chicago, and only $2.23 for the same amount of work of the same kind at Braddock, all under the same blessed tariff, what are we to conclude that the tariff does for the workingman? Do not all the tables of wages paraded by the high-tariff newspapers and orators, whether true or false, become utterly delusive and nonsensical in view of these great differences in our own country?

A correspondent asks us to examine Mr. Blaine's speech at Rochester, and tell our readers whether his quotations from Edward Atkinson, regarding the great advance in the wages of American workingmen "under the protective tariff," are true. We reply that we do not know where Mr. Blaine got his quotations, as he does not refer to any particular work of Mr. Atkinson's; but we do know that Mr. Atkinson utterly repudiates and condemns the idea that the tariff has any effect to increase wages. On the contrary, he holds the very opposite opinion, having been an advocate of tariff reduction for a quarter of a century. According to Mr. Blaine's Rochester speech, the wages of common laborers have increased 66 per cent. "under the protective tariff." Well, if that is true, it does not prove much, for some of the "pay envelopes" that have turned up since that kind of thumb-screw was applied to workingmen by their protected employers, have shown weekly wages as low as three dollars per week, or *fifty cents per day*. One such was recorded by the Plattsburg *Republican* a few days ago. Many have been produced which show a weekly wage of only *five dollars* for skilled workmen. To receive such a wage in a pay envelope is doubly insulting. It is an insult to receive the pay envelope at all, but it is a more bitter insult to receive five dollars for a week's work, and then to be told that this is high wages compared with the pauper labor of Europe. A better authority for Mr. Blaine, and one that can be more easily identified, is his own report on the cotton-goods trade of the world, in which he said:

"Undoubtedly the inequalities in the wages of English and American operatives *are more than equalized by the greater efficiency of the latter and their longer hours of labor.* If this should prove to be a fact in practice, as it seems to be proved from official statistics, it would be a very important element in the establishment of our ability to compete with England for our share of the cotton-goods trade of the world."

Mr. Blaine's statements of fact have been so discredited during the present campaign that it seems quite superfluous to say anything more about them. But there is one more item in relation to his Western harangues on Government deposits in national banks that ought to be mentioned. When we pointed out that Secretary Sherman had deposited in national banks much larger sums than Secretary Fairchild had placed there, it was replied that this was done at a time when the refunding of the national debt was going on, and that Secretary Sherman did not put the money in the banks, but merely left it there, and that there was a great difference between the two things. The difference between the two things was merely the difference between drawing a check on the banks and not drawing it. But how was it in 1873, when there was no refunding of the debt in progress? By reference to the report of the Treasurer of the United States for 1887, page 32, a tabulated statement may be found of the balance of Government deposits in national-bank depositories at the close of each fiscal year since the depository law was passed. The balance thus on deposit in 1873 was $62,185,153.64. This is considerably larger than the sum for which Mr. Blaine thinks that Mr. Fairchild is impeachable, and that any Republican Secretary would have been impeached if the Democrats had been in power. The Secretary of the Treasury was then a Republican, as all Secretaries were from 1864 to 1885. During this period there never was a time when the balance of Government deposits in national banks was less than $6,900,000; and for this or any other sum there was not, according to Mr. Blaine, "a shadow of substantial authority in law."

"The hope of the Republican party is in the young men," said Mr. Blaine in his speech at Newark on Saturday night. The declaration is no nearer the truth than Mr. Blaine usually gets, the correct statement of the case being that the hope of the Republican party *used to be* in the young men. The nomination of the party for the Presidency in 1884 changed all that. Many hundreds of young men came of the voting age in Newark between 1880 and 1884, but Newark's Republican vote for President in 1884 was only 526 larger than in 1880, while the Democratic vote was 1,800 larger than four years before. Many thousands of young men were first voters for President in the State of New Jersey in 1884, but the Republican candidate for President had only 2,811 more votes than Garfield in 1880, while Cleveland received 5,213 more than Hancock. The contrast was still more marked in Connecticut. That State had given the Republican candidate for President in 1880 a total of 67,071 votes and a plurality of 2,656, while in 1884, despite the accession to the electorate of thousands of young men, the Republican candidate for President polled only 65,923 votes, and Cleveland had a plurality of 1,276. There were many thousands of new voters in Massachusetts four years ago, but while the total poll was 20,869 greater than in 1880, the Republican candidate for President received only 146,724 votes, against 165,205 for Garfield in the previous election, and a plurality of only 24,372, against 53,245 for Garfield. Mr. Blaine is the last man in the country who

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ought to call attention to the influence of the young men voters in view of such a record.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie's naturalization paper has been published at Pittsburgh. It is dated May 28, 1885. So it appears that Mr. Blaine's coaching friend, the author of 'Triumphant Democracy,' was a British subject, by his own choice, until three years ago. The statement is thrown in for what it is worth that Mr. Carnegie's father was a naturalized citizen, although his papers cannot be found, the implication being that Mr. Carnegie may have supposed himself to be an American citizen without naturalization. If this was his supposition, he must have taken steps to have himself naturalized as a British subject when he was a candidate for Parliament a few years ago. We believe that it was "G. W. S." of the *Tribune* who so cruelly derided Mr. Carnegie's aspirations. What Tory Squire could abide the thought of Carnegie making steel rails in Pennsylvania and sitting in the House of Commons for a Scotch borough at the same time? We suspect that the whole truth has not yet been told about the swapping of citizenship by Mr. Blaine's host in the coaching party.

The concern which the woollen manufacturers exhibit for the wool-growers in case raw wool should be admitted free of duty deserves a moment's attention, even in the last week of the campaign. We have given some anxious thought to the matter, and have closely examined the statistics of imports and duties, in order to see what can be done to alleviate the distress of the manufacturers aforesaid. The imports of wool amounted last year to 114,038,030 pounds, of the value of $16,351,369, and the duties collected thereon were $5,899,816. The average rate of duties on all wools, including those used for making carpets, was 36.08 per cent. Now, in case wool is put on the free list, what is to prevent the manufacturers from giving to the wool growers the $5,899,816 which they now pay to the Collectors of Customs? Nothing in the world. Putting wool on the free list does not prevent them from contributing whatever sums they choose to the encouragement of wool-growing in this country. Let them meet the wool-growers in a convention, and agree to pay to the latter ten cents a pound on all the low-grade clothing wool they import, and 12 cents on all the high-grade "in the grease," and double and treble rates for washed and scoured, and the rates for combing and carpet wools as now provided by law. The woollen manufacturers will then be no worse off than they are now, while they can wipe away all tears so far as the wool-growers are concerned.

The Democratic paper in Des Moines reprints from the Republican organ of November 3, 1884, a letter by Samuel Merrill, ex-Governor of Iowa, urging every business man in Iowa to vote for Blaine, on the ground that they could not afford to risk a change in the administration of national affairs, and going on in this style:

"No one can comprehend the disaster that will follow the turning over of this Administration to hands untried and uncertain. Confidence, already shaken by the uncertainty of the present, will be greatly increased, and few men will feel like investing in any enterprise of importance for years to come. No man in Iowa will venture to buy property and build important structures so long as dark uncertainty hangs over us. Real estate will find few sales. Most people will want to sell and few buyers. The result of this 'do-nothing' policy will be disastrous. . . . I confidently believe that, in the event of a change, real estate will depreciate more than 20 per cent within the next year. Most wealthy men will pull for the shore and close up business. They will only do what they feel themselves obliged to do in order to save what they possess. This is the tendency of the human mind, and hundreds of thousands will do it all over the country. None but a lunatic would risk his property in any new enterprise like manufacture so long as the uncertainty incident to a change of Administration should be upon us."

The Administration was turned over to "hands untried and uncertain," but, so far from ex-Gov. Merrill's having "closed up business," his bank is still doing business at the old stand, and lots of it, and its shares are worth $275 per $100 in the open market. In addition to this, it is currently reported that the Governor himself has made a cool million in judicious investments in land outside of his regular business.

Col. Elliott F. Shepard has petitioned the newsdealers to allow him a quarter of a cent more for his newspaper than they have been paying heretofore. In support of the petition he says:

"The *cost* of the paper to us, by weight, with the printers' ink put on it by the press, is more than 1 cent, and you do not believe it is right or necessary that we should *sell the paper at a loss*, for you yourselves would not do business in that way."

The Colonel, when he speaks of weight, must mean intellectual weight, because if he meant weight avoirdupois, it would be an entire mistake to say that it costs one cent—a mistake due, of course, to inexperience in the newspaper business. A newsdealer, who sends us a copy of the petition, wants to know whether the various proprietors of the *Mail and Express*, during the past six or eight years, have been "selling the paper at a loss," as the petition affirms. We think it is very likely, but not because the cost of the white paper and ink amounted to one cent per copy. The outlay for intellect has been too great, and the Colonel ought to state this frankly to the newsdealers. The discriminating talent shown in the selection of a daily text from the Scriptures is alone a heavy burden. To estimate this as low as a quarter of a cent per copy is both shameful and ruinous. If the Colonel would accept our advice, he would boldly put up the price of his paper to three cents. Then he might afford to publish a whole chapter of the Bible every day.

Canon Taylor again takes up the missionary cudgels in the last *Fortnightly*. He must know that he is inviting even more contradiction and remonstrance than his Wolverhampton address of last year met with, yet he squarely flings down the gauntlet in his title, "The Great Missionary Failure." The first part of his article is statistical. He figures out various exhibits, more or less striking, as to the rate of advance of Christian missions, showing that it would take 183 years for all the societies to convert as many as are born in one year among the non-Christian populations of Asia and Africa. But all this is nothing new, and amounts only to saying, what advocates of missions perfectly well know, and in fact base strong appeals upon, namely, that the odds are tremendously against the missionary, humanly speaking. But the champions of missions rather boast than otherwise of their not taking the ordinary human view of the situation, and the most overwhelming figures will be wasted on them. What the Canon has to say about missionary methods, however, is worthy of serious attention from all concerned. For him to appeal, as he does, from the scorn of the "well-paid secretaries at home" to the testimony of missionaries in the field is highly suggestive—for the boldness of it, if nothing else. Briefly, he urges the folly of sending out so much poor material to swell incompetent and rival missionary forces, and objects radically to the whole scheme of going among the heathen as a superior race. In any view of the case, it is significant and gratifying that these objections to missionary methods should be made, if they needs must be made, by a clergyman and a dignitary of the Church—himself, moreover, an avowed friend of missions if only rightly conducted.

The last message sent by the President of Chili to the Congress of that country reveals the continuance of national prosperity in a high degree. The Government's revenues amounted in 1887 to nearly $46,000,000, while the disbursements were but slightly over $37,000,000. For 1889, however, the estimates brought in call for an outlay of $53,000,000, the increase being due to the great number of projected internal improvements. For the extension of the State railroads alone, $7,000,000 are asked. In addition, large sums are to be spent in building prisons and school-houses, buying ships of war, and improving the national harbors. The President had already been authorized to negotiate a loan of $15,000,000 to meet these contemplated expenses; but the large surplus of the past year can now be devoted to that purpose, and no more money is to be borrowed than will be needed to pay for railroad material purchased abroad. The total foreign commerce of Chili, in 1887, amounted to $108,180,820, being an increase over that of 1886 of nearly $13,000,000. The Government is paying great attention to the question of education. In 1886 there were 862 national schools, with an enrolled membership of 78,800 scholars and an average attendance of 47,780; in 1887 the corresponding figures had become 950, 81,362, and 55,831. New school-buildings are being rapidly provided; 42 are now under way, with a capacity for 17,000 scholars, and 60 more are planned to accommodate 23,000.

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THE REAL SHAME OF IT.

It is quite true, as the London *Daily News* remarks, that there is not one assertion in Lord Sackville's letter of which "an honest man need feel ashamed." He has said nothing in it which is not true, and which is not creditable to our Government. Thus, it is true that "any political party which openly favored the mother country at the present moment would lose popularity," and it is also true "that the party in power is fully aware of this fact." It is also true that the party in power is "still desirous of maintaining friendly relations with Great Britain, and is still desirous of settling all questions with Canada." If these things were not true, it would show that the party in power was not fit to direct the policy of a great civilized and Christian people; and if Lord Sackville had denied them, he would have slandered both the party in power and the best portion of the American people.

But, as the French say, every truth is not good to tell. There are truths which are unseasonable, which are not fit to be told to any person, by any person, at all times; and the foregoing truths are not fit to be told by a foreign Minister, during a canvass, to a naturalized citizen, with the view of influencing his vote. Consequently, Lord Sackville's letter was a sad blunder, but it is one of those blunders which really affect nobody but the person guilty of them. It is a serious matter for Lord Sackville. It discredits him, in the eyes of his own Government and in the eyes of his professional brethren, on the point of tact and shrewdness, about which diplomats are most sensitive, and it discredits him the more because he is not new to the country. He has been through more than one Presidential canvass, and must be more or less familiar with the tricks resorted to at such times to influence votes. To write such a letter to an unknown person, therefore, argues unfitness for his place. He has, in other words, committed a small but inexcusable and fatal professional blunder—such as all men have committed some time in their lives, and secretly blush over when they recall them—which is likely to ruin his diplomatic career.

What makes us blush just now, however, is not Lord Sackville's downfall, but the fact that his downfall should — judging from the Republican newspapers — seem to be a fact of such tremendous moment for the American people. The childishness of some of our newspapers has long furnished material for the sneers of foreign critics, but journalists are notoriously sensitive and emotional. What is humiliating in the present situation is that a great party, numbering almost half the American voters, considers, or pretends to consider, Lord Sackville's blunder one of the great facts of American history, and is bringing it to the knowledge of the world as such. Large vans are running around, laden with copies of his letter; it is printed in leaded type, and kept standing, in some papers, alongside of drawings of the British crown. It is receiving all the honor which could be given to a despatch announcing a great victory by land or sea, or the outbreak of a great foreign war, or a great scientific discovery, or the farewell address of a great statesman; and yet there is absolutely nothing in it, except that an elderly diplomatist of the second rank, appointed long ago on account of his family connections, and noted in several countries for his dulness, has offended his own Government, and that to which he is accredited, by a piece of small stupidity.

We wish we could stop here with saying that one of our great parties was acting as if it were made up of schoolboys or half-drunken laborers on pay-day. We wish we could take Dr. Storrs, or Dr. Armitage, or any of the other Republican divines or moralists into a private room, and say, "Your party, reverend sirs, is behaving in a very silly, childish way about this Sackville letter. You see, of course, yourselves, that it has no national or international importance whatever, and affects nobody but Lord Sackville himself; and you are doubtless ashamed to see so much fuss made about it, because it gives the rest of the civilized world the impression that our political contests are managed by children and their nurses, and that American adults go into retirement between the nomination and the election day." But we cannot stop here. We should have to go on, and add:

"It is not, however, the childishness of this Sackville fuss, reverend sirs, which troubles us most. It is the shameful fact that the letter was obtained from Lord Sackville by a petty fraud of the bunco kind—that is, by false pretences such as are used by the species of impostor known as begging-letter writers. It is a fraud, which, had it induced Lord Sackville to send the writer money, would have exposed the latter, if caught, to a term in the penitentiary, and which, were our law what it ought to be, and what you would doubtless wish to see it, would also send to the penitentiary a man resorting to it in order to influence a great national election. You preach vigorously against this sort of sin in your pulpits every day. You give the most solemn sanctions of theology to the lawyer's dictum that 'fraud vitiates everything.' You would not knowingly, or at all events willingly, allow a man to remain in your church who, you knew, profitted by cheating, and rejoiced over it openly and unblushingly because it gave him either dignity or emolument. You would scornfully reject the plea that the end justified the means, and would never admit that, although it was wrong for one man to lie and forge, it was not wrong for another man to make money out of the lie or the forgery, or get a wife by it. Why, then, are you silent now, in the presence of this miserable effort to convert the crime of a petty scoundrel into a huge national disgrace, to fill the chair of the American Chief Magistrate by the aid of the kind of trick by which 'bunco steerers' empty the pockets of simple-minded farmers? Do not put the question smiling by, or tell us any stories about 'the magnificent history' of the party. Your concern is, not what the party once was, but the things it is now doing. Moralists have to deal with living men and not with dead ones."

A VERY SERIOUS QUESTION.

We should like to ask intelligent members of the Republican party who are diligent readers of their own party newspapers and campaign documents, a simple question, which we put in good faith and all seriousness. It is this: Supposing that on the first of last July, through an outbreak of war, or some failure in steam or other communication, the reception of books and newspapers from England had ceased, and you were left in ignorance of what Englishmen were saying and thinking, or had been thinking or saying for some time past, about American affairs, how would you decide which way to vote at the coming election?

Again: Supposing you had not made up your mind how you would vote as late as Sunday week, and Lord Sackville's letter, which the *Tribune* is printing in leaded type as a guide to voters, had not seen the light, how would you get along?

As matters now stand, we think it is the duty of every intelligent American to ask himself these questions, and to formulate some sort of answer to them in his own mind. Thus far the canvass on the Republican side has consisted almost wholly of English news—news of what Englishmen are saying or have said about American politics, and news of what wages Englishmen are paying to their workmen. We see very clearly how this operates on the more ignorant Irish. They are expected to express through their vote simply their hatred of everything English, or, in other words, to do everything which they can discover would be disagreeable to Englishmen. Consequently, English news is all they need in the way of political guidance. When they learn what the London *Times* says, and Lord Salisbury says, and the London *Spectator* says, it is all they need to enable them to take action with regard to American affairs in every department. For instance, if the London *Times* said the Government ought to own the telegraph lines, they would know that American telegraph lines ought to remain in private hands; or if the *Spectator* said eggs ought to be taxed, they would know that in America eggs ought to come in duty free. If Lord Sackville said the weather reports in this country were unusually good, they would know that the American Signal Service ought to be abolished.

It must be admitted, therefore, that the Republican managers have, in the present canvass, made what may be considered sufficient provision for the Irish; but what about the Americans, who have no special quarrel with England, and are too busy with their own affairs to occupy themselves with spiting her? The position of this class of Republicans, and in fact of all who confine their reading to Republican newspapers and documents, is to-day most precarious. Our Protectionist friends talk a good deal of the plight we

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should be in, "in case of war," if we were dependent on foreign manufacturers for the supply of our leading commodities; but that situation, deplorable as it would be, as they paint it, is nothing to that in which Americans find themselves to-day, in time of profound peace. It would be bad enough, doubtless, to be dependent wholly on England for our cloth, or our salt, or our arms, or our tools during hostilities, but nearly one-half the American people are to-day dependent on Englishmen for their political ideas, and, if communication with England had been cut off four months ago, would be unable to vote intelligently at the principal American election. This sounds incredible, but it is the literal and exact truth, and a most portentous one as regards the future of our institutions. It constitutes a danger which no commentator on our Government has ever foreseen or pointed out. The wildest alarmist of the last fifty years seems not to have dreamed of it, as among the possibilities of the future, that a great American party would openly declare its inability to construct a system of taxation without the guidance of foreign newspapers, or that any considerable body of native voters would be delivered at a great election from doubt and embarrassment by a rather vapid private letter from a foreign Minister. No American who loves his country, or cares for her future, can, in fact, ask himself to-day without a shudder, "Where should we be if the London *Times* had no articles on American affairs, or if Lord Sackville wrote no letters to strangers?"

We pointed out some weeks ago that the Republican canvass was producing little or nothing but these foreign articles, real or forged; but we supposed at that time that the managers probably had some American ideas about taxation and similar topics in reserve, and would begin to spread them abroad as the canvass approached its close. In this we have been utterly disappointed. As the weeks go by, the reliance on English guidance appears to be greater and greater. Should this very alarming dependence on foreigners for political ideas not be checked, there is, of course, no good reason why we should not see English politicians employed openly to stump the country four years from now, and elect an American President by the simple process of telling the voters that they admire his opponent and desire his success, and regulate our taxation by mentioning the imposts which Englishmen especially dislike.

Of course, our Government might continue to exist under such a system, but it would exist as our shame and not as our glory, and would certainly not exist long in its present form. In case of war with England, it might be necessary to omit an election, and make the President hold over until communication was resumed, which in our opinion would give the Constitution a fatal blow. If the practice of holding over until the London *Times* was heard from were once begun, the silence of the *Times* would undoubtedly be often procured, by purchase or otherwise, towards the expiration of the constitutional term, and the Presidential office be gradually converted into the football and laughing-stock of foreign editorial writers.

CAMPAIGN "CULTURE."

THE base uses to which party managers are capable of putting "culture," when they get a secure hold of it, is well illustrated by Mr. Cabot Lodge's article in the volume issued for campaign purposes under the title, 'The Republican Party—Its History and Policies.' The article on the Civil Service, which professes to be a history of civil-service reform, is contributed by Mr. Lodge, and he certainly had already displayed the right kind of fitness for the work, by going into Rhode Island to stump the State for a ticket framed by and intended to benefit the defaulting Republican Postmaster Boss Brayton, who stole $30,000 of Government money and was never prosecuted for it. Mr. Lodge displayed very amusing fervor on his behalf, and thus marked himself out clearly for other jobs of the same kind.

This civil-service article is one of them. We cannot go over all its numerous perversions and evasions, nor are we concerned to defend President Cleveland against all its charges; we wish to notice simply its attack on him because of the number of his removals in places not covered by the law. A gentleman and scholar, as distinguished from a party hack, ought, in common fairness, in laying these removals before the public as evidences of the President's depravity, to have said frankly that most of them were made on the expiration of the officers' terms, and that a considerable number, nearly one-quarter, of the Republicans still remained in office, in the fourth year of a Democratic Administration—a thing unknown since Jackson's day. He ought also to have added that arbitrary removals in these places were never more vigorously carried on, or with more shameless indifference to the opinions of civil-service reformers, than during the four short months of President Garfield's Administration, and notably in the Department presided over by Mr. Blaine. Between March 4 and July 2, 1881, Blaine removed 37 Consuls, out of a total of 180, and these adherents of his own party! An honest gentleman could not write a party pamphlet on the history of civil-service reform without mentioning such facts as these, including the disgraceful use made, at the instigation of the same Blaine, of the Collectorship of New York, within this same period. Such things do not excuse President Cleveland's shortcomings, but they place them before the public in their true light; and this is the only light in which an American of fortune and education or a college graduate ought to consent to place them, to oblige any man or any party.

The same thing may be said of Mr. Lodge's concealment of the fact that President Cleveland's removals were not made among officers appointed for fitness, or appointed without reference to their political opinions from among members of both the great parties. He talks throughout as if the President had found, when elected, the Government service filled with highly trained, carefully selected officers, whose removal in every case, without cause assigned, was presumptive evidence of evil intent; the fact being that the unclassified service had for twenty-five years been filled exclusively with Republicans, appointed solely for services rendered to the party, or to Senators of the party, and retained in office, in a vast number of cases, through "influence," and without reference to competency; and that such things as President Arthur's appointing his own impecunious uncle to a paymastership in the army at the age of sixty, so that in two years he might retire with a pension, were by no means uncommon.

It is also highly disingenuous of Mr. Lodge to conceal the fact that, as late as 1882, assessments on office-holders were vigorously, openly, and defiantly collected by the Republican Congressional Committee, through Mr. Jay Hubbell. Mr. Lodge's assertion, therefore, that "under Republican Administrations political assessments on office-holders were given up, and the civil servants were, in conformity with the spirit of the law, withdrawn from the business of political management," is simply untrue. The New York Custom-house was never more active in the work of political management than in the canvass of 1884. Of course, it would have been the height of electioneering foolishness to put these reserves and qualifications into a campaign document; but for this reason honorable men usually refuse to write campaign documents which require evasion, equivocation, and misrepresentation. They leave them to the poor devils who need the money which such compositions usually bring.

Mr. Cleveland has certainly not fulfilled the expectations of his supporters in 1884 in the matter of civil-service reform. This is admitted by them all, so that the labors of the Republican orators and writers in proving it seem to be in a considerable degree wasted. At the same time we have no right to object to their calling attention to it in a canvass in which Mr. Cleveland is a candidate for reëlection. They have a right to point out that his promises have not been kept, and that many of the old abuses continue to flourish under his Administration. This is legitimate campaign work, but the great use of "gentlemen and scholars" in politics ought to be the doing of campaign work in an honest and loyal way. The party hack may be allowed to say, especially if his bread be dependent on it, that President Cleveland has not only failed to keep his promises, but has aggravated the abuses of the civil service—that he has not only failed to establish tenure during good behavior, but has made more arbitrary and unreasonable removals than any of his predecessors; but the Scholar in Politics ought not to say it. To him the delights of campaign lying, forgery, falsification, exaggeration, or perversion are sternly forbidden. He owes the party no service of this kind. Simple truth should, even in the most exciting canvass, be his highest skill; and if the Republican party be the kind of organization Mr. Lodge says it is, simple truth ought to make it a perpetual object of national love and admiration. Quays may come

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and Quays may go, but it should stand for ever.

Another melancholy phenomenon of the same sort as Mr. Cabot Lodge in the present canvass is Mr. Theodore Roosevelt. He, too, is a young man of fortune and a Harvard graduate. Mr. Lodge knew Mr. Blaine to be an unfit person for high public office before 1884, but took the stump for him in that year, as he did subsequently for Brayton, the Rhode Island defaulter. Mr. Roosevelt knew also that Mr. Blaine was unfit, and was disgusted by his nomination, but took the stump for him just the same. He was also a tariff-reformer, if not an out-and-out free-trader, before the present canvass, but is now on the stump, talking childish gabble against tariff reform, like his brother phenomenon, Mr. Thorndike Rice, in the *North American Review*, though we believe that Mr. Rice has not had the opportunities in the matter of education of the other two. What food for sneers at colleges and culture there is for Denis Kearney in all this!

THE PIRACY OF ENGRAVINGS.

THE latest appeal to the conscience of the people of the United States in behalf of honest dealing in regard to intellectual property is Thomas Humphry Ward's privately printed 'International Copyright in Works of Art: A Letter to the American People.' The author realizes that his topic is by this time a familiar one to American readers, but he asks a reading upon the ground that he does not intend to discuss the well-worn subject of literary copyright, but to consider the question only as it concerns artistic publications. Nevertheless, a considerable number of his thirty-seven pages deal with the question of protection to literary works, the chief argument being the inevitable rapid growth of a native American literature, which will, in the future, be in demand wherever the English language is spoken. "And if," he says, "your literary class becomes rapidly better and larger, it will be little less than insanity if it does not take measures to protect its interests in the other great literary mart for English writing which exists in the British Islands and throughout the British Empire. International literary copyright, in a word, is a necessity to your swiftly growing literary class."

As regards artistic copyright, Prof. Ward's remonstrance is aimed at the unlicensed reproduction of foreign engravings by the various cheap "process" methods—heliotypes, Albertypes, artotypes, etc. This kind of piracy seems to be going on at an astonishing rate. One catalogue is said to advertise as many as 1,378 engravings, another between 400 and 500, and a third about 400; and as the prices of these various reproductions (which closely approach the original engravings in appearance) range from 50 cents to $1—that is, from 1 per cent. to 5 per cent. of the cost of the originals—it is easy to believe that their sale has been widespread. To the moral argument against this state of things there is no answer; but, as Prof. Ward says, "the truth is, that the matter is not one for abstract discussion; if you hear not Moses and the prophets—that is, if you do not admit the universal application of the ordinary laws of right and wrong—then it is useless to discuss the question with you on any ground of principle. It must be argued on grounds of self-interest."

The considerations which he presents, with much force, are: (1) the need to look forward to the time when our own artists shall require protection against similar wrongdoing upon the part of European art publishers; and (2) the fact that, owing to the spread of these cheap, pirated reproductions, European engraving is actually threatened with extinction. Concerning the future of American art, Prof. Ward indicates flattering possibilities, and he speaks in cordial terms of the rising fame of our artists. "It is not only your painters and your sculptors," he tells us, "who are beginning to excel, but your school of etching has now advanced so far that, with a very little more, its leading men will take a position by the side of the most popular etchers of Europe." He mentions by name American etchers who, among others, have already become known to English buyers, and he sounds a note of warning:

"What are we to foresee from all this? Surely that as time goes on you will develop for yourselves a school of artists, which, though it will borrow without hesitation whatever aids may come to it from European training, will yet be able to stand alone, and will in course of time delight the world. But if this is so, we on our side have a large public that appreciates fine art, that is eager for new emotions, that turns here and there in search of fresh artistic interests. You may be sure that whatever you in the next generation produce on your side of the ocean, and whatever new forms of beauty your artists and engravers combine to bring into existence, will be readily appropriated over here. Our art publishers will act as some of our literary publishers are acting now—they will take advantage of the absence of any protection for your property guaranteed by international law, and they will use the resources of the modern reproductive processes to sell in the markets of Europe, without consulting you, whatever you have made that is worth reproducing. It is painful, it is humiliating, to have to make such a prophecy; but, after all, human nature is human nature, and men are in the main governed by their interests. . . . If in the days when Europe has the monopoly of production you refuse to allow her artists and engravers the protection of your law, Europe in the days to come will certainly retaliate in kind."

Concerning the more serious danger—the threatened extinction of all high-class engraving—Prof. Ward points out that the rapid development of "processes" has, during the last ten or fifteen years, so far destroyed the American demand for the first-hand work of good engravers that their remuneration has fallen to a "heart-breaking" extent. Whereas, fifteen years ago, a publisher who issued 300 proofs of a new plate knew that he might count upon one-half being taken by New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, now these cities supply the demand with cheap reproductions, for "all but fastidious connoisseurship breaks down before the temptation to purchase for three-fourths of a dollar a *contrefaçon* of a plate that would cost twenty or thirty dollars," and the result has been that there is already so great a decline in the demand for the work of the best engravers and etchers that the "older ones are folding their hands in despair, and many of the younger are beginning to turn their talents into other lines." Prof. Ward's forcible summing up, which is at the same time a severe indictment, we will give in his own words:

"I do not know whether those Americans who interest themselves in the future of art are satisfied with the prospect thus opened out. It seems to me that the illustration most applicable is the old and hackneyed one of the goose with the golden eggs. You are enjoying your ample provision of works of art; the talent of England and of France is working for your enjoyment, and you are profiting by it in the cheapest possible way; you can, by combining the methods of science with the productions of the artist, provide yourselves, at the cost of 80 cents, with an approximation to the work for which we have to pay twenty or thirty times as much; and you flatter yourselves that you are doing a clever thing, are spoiling the Egyptians, are defeating the monopolists, and are in a hundred other ways making the best of both worlds. I venture to submit that you are entirely in the wrong, and that, to take even the lowest ground, you are pursuing a policy that is so short-sighted as to be entirely unworthy of the smartest people in the world. You are putting obstacles in the way of the development of your own artistic class, and, with the words 'protection of native industry' on your lips, you are dealing a deadly blow against an industry which otherwise would be sure to be rapidly developed in your midst, and in the possession of which your sons and your grandsons would feel a pleasure and a pride. Moreover, and chiefly, you are doing your best to extinguish that industry in the regions of the world where it exists already; you are killing the artists in order that you may enjoy their art."

The question naturally arises, upon a reading of Prof. Ward's timely pamphlet, How would this deplorable state of things be affected by the passage of the International Copyright Bill now before Congress? A careful examination of the present copyright laws, as they would be amended by the above bill, leads to the conclusion that the proprietors of foreign engravings could secure themselves against piracy by American publishers by carefully complying with the following stipulations: (1.) Deliver, *before publication*, a printed copy of the title of each engraving at the office of the Librarian of Congress; or deposit same in the mail *within the United States* addressed to the Librarian of Congress at Washington. (2.) Pay to the same officer a fee of one dollar for recording each title. (If a certificate or copy of the record is desired, fifty cents additional would have to be paid, but the possession of such certificate is not essential to the copyright). (3.) *Deliver, not later than the day of publication*, at the office of the Librarian of Congress, or deposit in the mail within the United States, addressed to the Librarian of Congress, as above, *two* copies of each engraving. (4.) Print upon every copy of each engraving entered for copyright, or upon some visible portion of the substance on which it is mounted, the words "Copyright, 18—(year), by—(name of proprietor)." From the time the title is recorded as above, during the term of the copyright (42 years), every person who has not first obtained the written consent of the proprietor, signed in the presence of two or more witnesses, is forbidden by law to "engrave, etch, work, copy, print, publish, or import, either in whole or in part, or by varying the main design with intent to evade the law, or, knowing the same to be so printed, pub-

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lished, or imported, to sell or expose to sale any copy" of such engraving, upon penalty of the forfeiture to the proprietor of the copyright of all the plates on which the same shall have been copied, and every sheet, either copied or printed, and a fine of one dollar for every such copy found in his possession.

A bill is now pending in the House of Representatives (favorably reported) which increases the penalty to $10 for every fraudulent copy of the engraving. These penalties would, no doubt, also afford complete protection against the abominable practice, becoming so prevalent in this country, of using the very finest designs for advertising purposes or for vulgar decoration—a barbarism against which Professor Ward complains bitterly. But while the Chace bill, if enacted, will so amend the present law as to enable the foreign proprietor of engravings to recover damages in case his works are pirated in this country, it is not calculated to encourage him in seeking an American market for his productions, for it practically prohibits his sending them to a dealer in the United States to be sold. Only persons purchasing "for use and not for sale" (according to the text of the bill) are allowed to import copyright engravings, and even then, only two copies at any one time, and after first having obtained, in each case, the written consent of the proprietor, signed in the presence of two witnesses. Furthermore, all such importations are subject to a tariff duty of 25 per cent. ad valorem.

RAILROAD EXTENSION IN THE EAST.

THE contrast between Russia and Turkey in their railroad policy is strongly marked. While Turkey controls fertile districts in which there seems to be a fair prospect of profitable traffic, no effort is made to develop them. Russia, on the contrary, is rapidly reaching out into Central Asia, and is coming dangerously near the Indian frontier of England. Both Russia and Turkey are equally bankrupt; but the former appreciates the importance of railroads enough to find some means of building them, while the latter opposes their construction with other obstacles besides financial ones.

The Trans-Caspian Railroad, which we described a few months ago, is now in successful operation. A little further to the south a line is being constructed into the heart of Persia. Starting at Resht, on the Caspian Sea, it runs to Teheran. Although on Persian territory, it is wholly under Russian influence. Many of the workmen are Russians, most of the others have been engaged in one way or another on the construction of the Trans-Caspian Railroad. The material is brought into the country by way of Russia, and the Government of that country seems to be making every effort to render the completion of the road as easy as possible. No definite arrangements have as yet been made for continuing it further than Teheran, but it is generally assumed that little time will elapse before it is pushed on to Meshed and Herat, in the East, as well as southward to the Persian Gulf.

Nothing can contrast more painfully with this rapid development than the supineness of the Turkish Government. It is scarcely two months since Constantinople itself has been in direct rail communication with the west of Europe, and this communication was in a certain sense brought about by the Bulgarian Government in spite of Turkish opposition. As long ago as 1883 an agreement was made by Austria, Servia, Bulgaria, and Turkey for the opening of through communication in the summer of 1886. Austria did her part promptly, opening the section of line from Buda-Pesth to Belgrade in September, 1884. The Servian line from Belgrade to Nish was opened at about the same time. From this point the system, as agreed upon by the four Powers, branched off in two directions—one line, on which the Servian and Turkish frontiers came into direct contact, running towards Salonica; the other and longer line, towards Constantinople, passing through Bulgaria on the way.

The line to Salonica was open for traffic in the early part of the present year; but it was by no means an easy question to decide who should operate it. The Oriental Railroad Company, with Baron Hirsch at its head, seemed to have the best rights in the case. But, as not infrequently happens, the Turkish Government had quarrelled with the company on a question of payment, and was not disposed to accord it the chance to operate a profitable line of this kind. The whole was finally put provisionally into the hands of a company in which Servian influences were apparently predominant. About midsummer, the direct line to Constantinople via Bulgaria was also finally completed. It was not, however, at once put into operation. Baron Hirsch, according to the agreements, seemed to have the right to operate the Turkish section, but he was denied this right on the Constantinople line for the same reason as on the other. The Turkish Government would have been glad to have it operated by the Servian company; but to this the Bulgarians demurred, and in fact refused to transport the Servian rolling-stock necessary for the operation of the company. Had this company had any real rights in the matter, it could have compelled Bulgaria to recognize them; had they had any rolling-stock in that part of Turkey, they could have disregarded Bulgaria's protests; but in the absence of both rights and rolling-stock, there was little to be done.

While every one was wondering what turn affairs would next take, the Bulgarian Government, on the 15th of July, 1888, calmly sent down a train laden with railroad officials and the necessary guards for the stations, to the end of the line thus unused, and, after ascertaining that the coast was clear, on their return dropped at each station the necessary officials and time-tables, after which they sent the Ottoman Government a rather cool note, stating in general terms that a valuable property was in danger, and that they thought it necessary to take possession of it as a means of protecting it. The Porte, as may be imagined, was far from satisfied with the turn which affairs had taken. It is by no means an unheard-of thing, even in America, to have a railroad stolen; but this particular manner of railroad stealing, and the cool way in which it was announced, was something of a surprise. The Porte attempted to persuade Hirsch, who had undoubted rights in the matter, to come and eject the Bulgarian Government; but he did not prove as willing an instrument as was hoped. As between the Governments of Turkey and Bulgaria, he felt quite as friendly to the latter as to the former. He, however, consented to operate the line on condition that he might also have given over into his hands the profitable line to Salonica, which was now run by the Servian company. But here again there was objection on the part of Servia, and it is difficult to see what will be the final outcome. At present a compromise has been reached by which the Constantinople line is provisionally operated by Hirsch; but it is by no means clear that we have as yet reached the end of the difficulty.

If such is the trouble involved in getting to Constantinople, it may be imagined that the difficulties in getting beyond it are even greater. It is some time since the system of railroads through Asia Minor and in the direction of Persia has been authoritatively surveyed; but it is still an open question how soon actual work will begin, or whether, when work is once begun, the Turkish Government may not place such difficulties in the way as to hinder its completion. At present it seems to be playing off one construction company against another in the bids for this enterprise, and shows a disposition not to deal straightforwardly with any of them. Under these circumstances, the policy of Europe in maintaining the Turkish power as a barrier to Russian expansion may react against itself. It prevents Russia, for the time being at any rate, from getting a foothold on the Mediterranean, but it insures her a clear field in railroad expansion towards the Persian Gulf. If half the accounts are true as to the natural resources of Asiatic Turkey, railroad communication with Persia should have developed in that country rather than across the deserts further to the north. But as long as Turkey is left in possession, any such result seems likely to be postponed indefinitely.

TINKERING THE FRENCH CONSTITUTION.

PARIS, October 15, 1888.

REVISION of the Constitution has become a universal cry. That this revision should be the cry of the Opposition, of all kinds, is no wonder: it is more difficult to understand why the Government also has formed a scheme of revision. The Constitution is, in a republic, the highest law, the law of laws, and it ought not to be constantly modified. It is not for me to tell with what difficulties and formalities the framers of the American Constitution surrounded the revision of a single article of that instrument: you remember well under what circumstances it became possible to revise the articles relative to slavery. With the exception of those articles, what has been changed

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in the American Constitution within a century? It stands now as a firm pillar, round which States and Territories can be organized; it is an object of respect and veneration to all succeeding generations; it gives to your democracy the element of fixity, of duration, which is given to monarchies by a dynasty.

The French Constitution, in its last form, dates from 1875, and it has already been revised. The revision of it is as easy as the change of an ordinary law.

"The Chambers shall have the right, upon separate deliberations, determined in each by an absolute majority of votes, either spontaneously, or at the request of the President of the Republic, to declare that there is need of revising the constitutional laws.

"After each of the two Chambers has taken this resolution, they shall unite as a National Assembly, in order to proceed to the revision.

"The deliberations concerning the revision of the constitutional laws, either total or partial, shall be determined by an absolute majority of the members composing the National Assembly."

Mark in this last article the word *total*. In the intention of the framers of the Constitution, a total revision was a possibility, and it was clearly understood in the deliberations of the Assembly of Versailles that a new National Assembly could substitute, if it chose, a monarchy for the Republic.

Jules Ferry felt that this was a danger for the Republic. He was afraid that a time would come when the representatives of the people might legally and constitutionally put an end to the Republic; and when he was Prime Minister he proposed that the right of revision should be curtailed on this special point; that a special article should be inserted in the Constitution, forbidding any deliberation in the National Assembly on the subject of the form of government. He carried his point, and the Constitution was revised in this sense; an article was inserted which makes it impossible to put to vote the question of the form of government in a National Assembly. The precaution was unnecessary so long as the majority remained Republican in both Chambers, and it would become futile if both Chambers ceased to be Republican. The axe was laid to the tree by the man who wished to protect the tree; for it was seen how easy it was practically to revise the Constitution—that it could be done in a day, with no more difficulty than any small alteration in an ordinary law.

This first revision became a signal; ever since, all the parties in opposition have taken up the cry of revision—the Monarchists in order to abolish the article introduced in the Constitution by the influence of Jules Ferry; the Bonapartists for the same reason; the Radicals because they accuse the Constitution of impotence, and wish to suppress the Senate and even the Presidency. There are obvious reasons why those who desire to substitute a monarchy for the Republic should try to test constantly the fragility of the Republic and to undermine its Constitution; there are reasons also why the Radicals, the Socialists, the Communists, the men whom nothing can satisfy, who are ardent for any change, any commotion, should cry, "Revision, revision!" Still, the cry did not find much echo till it was adopted by General Boulanger and his party.

It is difficult to explain how this party was formed and what are its objects. So far, the programme of General Boulanger is purely negative—"Dissolution, revision!" Once he tried to explain what he meant by revision, and what modifications he would make, if he could, in the Constitution. He was not much listened to, and I suppose that, by this time, nobody remembers the long programme which he read to the Chamber, and I should not be much surprised if he had forgotten it himself. The electors who vote by thousands for Boulanger, without ever having seen him or heard him, do not look upon him as a framer of constitutions, but as a destroyer of constitutions. Who are they, what are they? They are the discontented of all classes, of all ranks, of all opinions (if they have any fixed opinions); the men who follow instincts rather than ideas, who, for one reason or another, are tired of the present, and want something new, something different—they do not know exactly what. Imagination has more to do in the affairs of men than is commonly supposed, and, strangely enough, General Boulanger has caught the imagination of the people. I heard some time ago an old diplomat, a man who has had a great experience of the world and who has travelled in every part of it, say to some people who were criticizing Boulanger, and were trying to prove that some of his actions would ruin him: "You are mistaken. He is an idol. I have travelled in the East and seen many idols: I always found that the uglier they are, the more miracles they perform."

It would be a long and painful task to show how the Republicans have allowed the tide of discontent to rise to its present level; how the "République aimable" of M. Jules Simon, the "République athénienne" of Gambetta, made way by degrees for the present Republic. It would be even more difficult to analyze the process by which all the discontent crystallized, so to speak, round General Boulanger. He appeared first before the eyes of the people as a soldier on horseback, sword in hand. The people see him still as they saw him first, though he no longer wears his uniform, and has been thrust through in a duel by a lawyer. It was thought that after this duel he was a finished man; a short time afterwards three departments returned him by overwhelming votes. Next year there will be general elections, and committees are already formed in every department. I am told that everywhere the Monarchists are obliged to count with General Boulanger and his party: the popular tide is with him, and they dare not oppose it. We must expect to see in the provinces a coalition of Monarchists, Bonapartists, and Boulangists. They will probably vote together on a purely negative platform, without any definite conventions or arrangements, for the sake of victory.

It is needless to show the dangers of such a policy. Lord Palmerston once said that a man on horseback was in coalition with the horse; only, when you form coalitions, you must always be careful to be the horse. Who can tell who will be the horse in this extraordinary coalition of the monarchical forces and of the enigmatical and unnamed forces which go under the name of Boulangism? The real alliance to be feared is the old alliance between Cæsarism and democracy, the alliance which placed Napoleon I. and Napoleon III. on the throne, and which has always ended in a deadly struggle between France and Europe. It seems as if, in the face of such dangers, the Republicans ought to learn some prudence and wisdom; they have still in their hands the keys of the house, but now they themselves propose to rebuild it. M. Floquet, who is our Prime Minister, is the new architect; he also cries, "Revision!" thinking that he can shout it louder than General Boulanger. The plan of the ministerial revision is, it must be confessed, most extraordinary. The rights of the Senate are curtailed with regard to the veto of the budget; yet the Chamber of Deputies has not made such a good use of the finances of the country that a little advice from the Senate should be thought unnecessary. The July number of the *Bulletin de Statistique du Ministère des Finances* gives the amount of the expenses incurred since the war of 1870, outside of the ordinary budget. It is seven milliards, and seven hundred millions of francs. As has lately been said, "The State spends every year five or six hundred millions more than it receives from the regular taxes and sources of revenue."

Still, the prerogative of the Chamber in matters of taxation is a point which can be discussed; but what shall we say of the proposition made by the Government to deprive the President of the right of dissolution—a right which he can use only with the consent of the Senate? This is another diminution of the senatorial power, as well as a diminution of the Presidential power. The most extraordinary part of the scheme of revision, however, seems to me to be the gradual reëlection of the Deputies—one-third going out every two years, so that there would never be a general election. The Ministers appointed by the Chamber would remain in office so long as a partial reëlection of one-third should not have taken place, and could not be upset in the interval of two partial elections by a parliamentary vote. Two years of office would be thus assured to every Cabinet. I leave you to judge if this change can be recommended in a country where the ministerial responsibility is complete, and where the Ministers have to appear every day before Parliament. Everything can be tried in politics; but I can hardly imagine the coexistence of a Chamber and of a hostile Cabinet. This measure is proposed as a remedy for the instability of our cabinets; but the only true remedy is the election by the people of a large and united majority. The present House is cut up into groups and fractions, and cabinets are upset in turn by coalitions of groups. This may be a great evil, but I don't see how it can be remedied except by the electors.

Correspondence.

THE PARTY NOT A PERSON.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: One more word ought to be said to men like Dr. Storrs, who believe that the Republican party is entirely wrong in this campaign, but continue their support because it was right twenty-five and thirty years ago. Their sophistication comes from giving personality to the party. In their conception, the party is a personal existence, that can claim fealty. If this fealty is not given, the person failing to give it is a "traitor to the party." If the party is wrong, its errors are to be condoned, like the errors of an individual, in view of its previous good record, and in the hope that its general spirit of rectitude will speedily bring it back from its lapses from sound political virtue. There is not a greater error enslaving the minds of educated men than this conception of the nature of parties. The correct conception of a party is, not that of a personality which has rights over men, but that of an instrument for achieving political results, to be cast aside whenever it fails to answer one's purpose. It is only an aggregation of men who act together as a party because they have common purposes to achieve. As soon as there are divergent purposes, there should be new combinations of men.

This truth is brought out by a brief history of the Republican party—or rather Republican parties, as there have been a number of them.

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Thirty years ago the Republican party was an aggregation of men who stood for the exclusion of slavery from the Territories, for free speech, for a Homestead Law. These purposes have all been achieved, and the men who made that Republican party are mainly dead and buried.

A little later, the men who stood for the Republican party had entirely distinct purposes from the first party. They stood for the carrying on of the war for the preservation of the Union, for the destruction of slavery in the slave States, as a war measure. These purposes have all been achieved, and the men who were that Republican party are largely dead and buried.

A little later, the aggregation of men who, united by common purposes, made up the Republican party, stood for the adoption of certain reconstruction measures and for certain amendments to the Federal Constitution which were to conserve the results of the war. These purposes have also been achieved, and the men who made this Republican party are mainly dead and buried. The issues for which that particular party worked are as extinct as are those of the adoption of the Federal Constitution of 1788.

The next Republican party had for its common purpose the resumption of specie payments. But that issue is as dead as the preceding ones. It is as dead as the adoption of the Copernican astronomy. We all feel that loyalty to the Copernican astronomy should have no controlling power in fixing our present party associations.

During all this history, the aggregation of men who have made up these Republican parties has been a varying one. As men have favored the issues that were called Republican principles, they have united themselves with the like-minded men who constituted the party; as they have disfavored them, they have withdrawn from the party.

Now, in this present year of grace, what does the Republican party stand for? It stands for the perpetuation of tariff abuses. It stands, contingently, for free whiskey. It stands for profuse expenditures of the public money. It stands for the perpetuation of sectional hate. It stands as the firm friend of monopolies, as is conclusively shown by the history of the Republican Senate during the past twelve years. It stands for reckless indifference to cordial relations between the English-speaking peoples. The cause of vital religion and of civil liberty rests largely upon fraternal relations between the English-speaking peoples. The welfare, not of one race like the negroes, but of all races, is involved in their peaceful comity. The men who needlessly put a strain upon the relations of the two foremost English-speaking peoples are traitors to civilization and to the highest interests of mankind.

The party stands for blind, stupid opposition to everything that President Cleveland does. When history comes to be written impartially, one of its most ridiculous recitals will be of the stolid stupidity with which the Republican leaders have arrayed themselves against every step taken by President Cleveland, whether right or wrong. Every Republican President for the twelve years preceding the present quadrennial has pointed out the necessity of tariff revision. Every intelligent man knows that tariff revision has been desirable. At last, when it becomes imperative because of the accumulation of a dangerous surplus in the treasury, merely because the subject is brought forward by President Cleveland, the whole party rushes savagely against it, with all the stupid ferocity of a bull in the arena, inflamed by a red flag.

Those who are in favor of the principles of the present Republican party should vote for its platform and its candidates. Those who are opposed to these principles, and still vote for them, have their minds under a worse than negro bondage; for I can see no way of removing their enslaving chains. It is a libel upon Lincoln and the Republican fathers to say that the present Republican party is their party, *for they had the independence of mind to break away from old parties when their course was antagonistic to the welfare of man.*

I cannot refrain from a somewhat rough *reductio ad absurdum* of the claim that one owes loyalty to a party like loyalty to a woman. Men in the attitude of Dr. Storrs would say, "I know that thirty-four years have impaired Polly's beauty—that she now wears a wig, and that her eyes are dull and lifeless; that her cheeks are sunken and hairy, and that her teeth are gone. But she once had raven tresses; once her eyes were full of liquid fire; once her cheeks were round and rosy like a peach; and once she had teeth of pearly whiteness. She will always be the same beautiful Polly to me that she was at first. I shall always cling to Polly." Now, the real question is not one of good looks, but of character. *What if Polly has lost her virtue? What about clinging to her then?* J.

DEFINE THE ISSUE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I observe a growing conservatism, not to say timidity, in the statement by Democratic leaders of the position of their party on the tariff question. I do not believe there is anything in the political situation which makes this apparent weakening of the moral nerve either wise or politic.

There is a large element now supporting the Democratic party because it believes that that party has definitely entered upon a course whose destination is practical free trade—tariff for revenue only. The voters composing this element do not believe in absolute free trade, at any time—that is universally admitted to be impracticable. They do not desire the destruction or unnecessary injury of American manufactures, or the endangering of investments therein. They believe that protection is the proper policy for certain stages in the growth of a country, and that when it is abandoned it should be slowly and experimentally. But they also believe that it should never be the permanent policy of any country. They believe that limitations on trade should be a means, not an end, and that when the end has been accomplished they should be promptly discarded; that such restrictions are not in the line of social progress, are being outgrown as parts of the social machinery—like slavery, spoils-of-office, subsidies, standing armies, conquest and war—and will some day be left behind in the march of modern civilization. And they are confident that any great political party, in a great, free, prosperous, and progressive country like this, which makes the permanent retention of such restrictions the chief plank in its platform, will see the day when it will be ashamed of such a record.

These men whom I am speaking for—and whose opinions in this regard I think I am fairly expressing—believe that some of the infant manufactures of this country, which have been protected thus far, are now grown up and can go alone, and that others are getting so well on to their legs that they can manage to get along quite comfortably with less protection. They therefore believe that the time has come to reduce the contributions which the whole people have been making towards the support of these two classes of manufactures. They are not asking now that the contributions to the first class shall entirely cease (although they cannot quite see why they should not). Out of "abundant caution" they only demand a comparatively slight reduction — a mere loosening of the grasp, confident that it will be promptly tightened if the interests affected shall prove to be injured by the experiment. But what these men insist on, primarily, as the acknowledged end of the course upon which the Democratic party is entering, is this—that, as fast as each protected industry shall reach the point where it can, from its own resources, compete with the world, or where it shall be demonstrated that it cannot be prosecuted in this country without a perpetual bounty, the protection of such industry shall be, gradually and carefully, withdrawn; until, when the last industry shall have passed this point, there shall result what I have called practical free trade.

I believe there is another element now supporting the Democratic party which will not insist upon the definite recognition of this ultimate policy. They are men who are, or were recently, members of the Republican party; and if it should be admitted that the Democratic party hold the same doctrine as to protection that the Republican party now holds, that both parties are for readjustment and reduction of the present tariff along the line of the same general principle, and that the only difference now between them on the tariff question is mere matter of detail as to the specific items upon which the reduction should be made, then I believe that when these men I am speaking of come to understand this as the status of the two parties, they will no longer be for the Democratic party.

The reasons are not far to seek. These men helped to make the history of the Republican party during the war period, and they are proud of the record. It was something of a struggle for them to abandon their share in such portion of the glory of the old party as had been inherited by the new one. The history of the Democratic party during the same period is as obnoxious to them as that of the Republicans is agreeable, and their second sentimental twinge, when they felt themselves compelled to support that party in the present political aspect, grew out of the fear that their individual political careers would sometimes be confounded with the Democratic war record. It is not reasonable to suppose that these men will leave the Republican for the Democratic party if they shall come to believe that there is no difference in principle between the two. Notwithstanding the blunders of the Republican leaders, and the late and probably insincere attempt of some of them to put the party in the line of tariff reduction for the purpose of meeting the exigencies which the campaign has developed, it is probable that these men would prefer in such a case to remain in the Republican party, and strive to reform it from the inside, rather than leave it for a party whose superiority over theirs would consist alone in the fact that this year it is consistent and undoubtedly sincere in its effort to reduce the present tariff.

The men for whom I am assuming to speak are, I think, supporting the Democrats upon the assumption that the following is about the status of the two parties on the tariff question, allowing that the recent action of the Republican Senators is sincere and will be endorsed by their party: The Republicans will not touch the tariff at all unless it shall become necessary to do so in order to reduce the surplus

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revenue; and in that case, and for that purpose alone, they will reduce the tariff where the reduction will not affect the protected class—that is, they will make the reduction on such articles as cannot be produced in this country, or, failing enough of these, then on those of which a small proportion (compared with the demand) can be produced in this country. The Democrats say that, while the reduction of the surplus revenue is the first thing to be done, it is merely incidental to the chief thing to be done, which is to commence the readjustment and reduction of the tariff on the line of making the principal reduction in the duties on those articles which can be produced in this country, and the manufacture of which in this country is being protected after the need for protection has ceased, and the largest proportion of which duties is going into the pockets of private parties instead of into the public treasury; and to continue the contest along this line until, through the development of the country's resources, we reach practical free trade. They say, if we are paying more duties than we ought to on articles which cannot be produced in this country, "Very well, that shall be remedied; but all such duties go into the treasury for the benefit of the whole people alike, and so our first duty is to stop those duties which are unjustly received by private parties at the expense of all."

Here seems to be a well-defined issue between the two parties, on principle, and the men I speak of do not as yet see any reason for obscuring it. You will not catch a New England State by telling its voters that your party was the first to advocate the reduction policy, and that the Republican party only adopted it when they were frightened into it by the developments of the campaign; but you will catch and hold voters all over the country by bravely standing by the great principle which underlies the position of your party on the tariff question, and which will mark the difference between the two parties, not only through this campaign, but all through the coming years, during which this is to be the dominant political issue. It is with this principle that you are furnishing a rallying-point for the men from both parties who have been struggling for years to keep our legislative processes out of the grasp of the powerful monopolistic element. JOHN W. ELA.

CHICAGO, October, 1888.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE VETO.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The frequency with which Mr. Cleveland has used the veto power has been the subject of much severe comment by various Republican speakers for some time past, and particularly by Mr. Blaine in several of his recent addresses. I propose, with your permission, to inquire whether or not the condition of affairs has arisen in which its frequent and vigorous use is necessary, and, further, whether the spirit of the Constitution does not imperatively require it.

The power of the negative was conferred by the Constitution with the double object of checking rash and preventing corrupt legislation. Its framers realized how easily, in the rush of business, corrupt legislation might pass unnoticed, unless the responsibility for its examination was definitely located, and how completely this precaution would discourage it. On the other hand, they also realized how liable are large elective bodies to rash and unwise impulses, and how necessary it was to provide an agency by which, without an absolute veto, sober second thought could be enforced. They did not intend a despotic Executive, nor can any Executive armed with only a qualified veto, with the power of Congress and the Judiciary to contend against, ever hope to become despotic; but it was equally remote from their intention to create a weak one, and the fear of this constituted the objection to an Executive Council. It was not intended to make the President a mere administrative figure-head: the veto power and the privilege, not only of stating to Congress the condition of the country, but of suggesting to it a definite line of policy, would, it was calculated, enable him to affect, not only the administration, but the legislation of the country, and to maintain his weight and dignity in the Federal system.

For some years past, it is now commonly felt, there has been a steady tendency towards that centralization of power which the makers of the Constitution feared; but, instead of concentrating upon the President, it is Congress that has absorbed this additional power, subtracted, on the one hand, from the States, and, on the other, from the President himself. The Supreme Court is gradually winning back for the States the authority of which they have been unknowingly deprived; but the only agency that can reclaim for the President his original prerogative is the President himself. This, I think, has been the effect of Mr. Cleveland's vigorous assertion of his powers; and, so far from being a perversion or abuse of the Constitution, I firmly believe that it was the indifference and weakness of his predecessors which allowed a great abuse to gain firm foothold, the executive power seriously to be impaired, and all the corrupt influences at work in Congress to have unobstructed play.

Alexander Hamilton, in Essay No. LXXIII. of the *Federalist*, in which the veto of the President is considered, has, among other things, this to say in its defence:

"A power of this nature will often have a silent and unperceived, though forcible, operation. When men, engaged in unjustifiable pursuits, are aware that obstructions may come from a quarter which they cannot control, they will often be restrained, by the bare apprehension of opposition, from doing what they would with eagerness rush into if no such external impediments were to be feared."

In a state of affairs, then, in which this hindrance ceases to be dreaded—Congress itself being able but imperfectly to examine the numerous small bills apparently so harmless and plausible that are presented to it—practical immunity is granted to every corrupt influence that is brought to bear upon it. Mr. Blaine, as an old member of Congress—and a member, too, who, if we can judge from extracts published from his private correspondence, must have been quite familiar with this branch of its business—Mr. Blaine must know how many bills are hurried through Congress in the hope and expectation that they will never be exposed to the light of day. Does it not point to a decided impairment of the President's power, to a dangerous departure from the spirit of the Constitution, when Congress has thus learned to count upon the Executive's approval? I lay particular emphasis upon these so-called "private" bills, because the President's vetoes have usually fallen upon measures of this kind; but it is no less necessary that the restraining effect of a possible veto be felt in legislation of a more far-reaching nature. In this, too, Mr. Cleveland has realized for us the kind of President the Constitution designed—a man who should see to the execution of the laws, and the force of whose individuality should be felt in making them. To such a President, Congress must feel a direct responsibility; and whether they work in unison or in discord, the result must be a definite policy, upon which the country is given frequent opportunity to pass.

I have said that the Presidential office has lost prestige within the last twenty years. The power of the veto and the power of recommendation are of less avail to influence Congress than the judicious distribution of the public offices. Whether or not this be the cause, the President has gradually lost influence over the policy of the Government; he has become merely a machine to execute the will of Congress. The effect of this has been to deprive Congress of the head which the Constitution provided; and I believe that much of the aimlessness and incoherence of our legislation for some years past is due to the fact that the President has ceased to be a force in shaping its counsels. The experience of the Congress just adjourned seems to indicate that, with a man of positive force in the Presidential chair, Congress is bound to evolve some systematic policy. It has been repeatedly suggested of late that this end can be best secured by making the President simply an executive, and enforcing some form of responsibility within Congress itself. The present is not the time to discuss this proposal; but this much we may say—that, whenever the President does become such, whether by a formal amendment to the Constitution or by force of precedent, then the necessity for the entire reorganization of Congress becomes absolute.

It is worth while remarking, under these circumstances, that the great statesman of the Republican party has so little perception of the need for a strong and vigorous President to direct and lead the legislature, that he censures an attempt to revive the strength of the Executive by reëstablishing the natural relations between the President and Congress; nay, more, he is not conscious of any imperfections in the perverted system which he seeks to perpetuate. No one who knows Mr. Blaine will be surprised at this; but, for the benefit of those who are still dazzled by his "brilliancy," it may be permitted once more to remark that, to the consideration of a question which demands the talents of a statesman, he has brought only the arts of a politician and a demagogue. F.

LOUISVILLE, KY., October 26, 1888.

MINISTRIES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: While we are waiting for the result of the great lesson of the election, it is well not to lose sight of the almost equally important lesson, even for us, which is working itself out in France.

No doubt a great many people regard this as showing how bad it is that the Ministry should have seats in the Chambers, and a conclusive proof that no such thing should be tried with us. It may be answered that the evil is not because, but in spite of, this condition. The present state of politics in France is a part of the long illustration, since 1789, of the impossibility of government by legislature, and the necessity of strong executive power. In the panic which is creeping over the country at the anarchy and impotence of the Chamber, men's minds are turning towards revolution and Boulanger or some stronger man. The one single chance that they have of pulling through peacefully (and this chance is unfortunately growing daily less) is in some Minister arising strong enough by constitutional methods to command the support of the country and compel the Chamber to do his bidding. But this chance is only possible through giving to the Ministry a fighting ground in the Chamber. No one thing could be done more certain to

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bring on revolution and a military dictator than to withdraw the Ministry from public contact with the Chamber. The factions would fly at each other's throats in a way which would make the country howl aloud for a saviour, even if that saviour were a Louis Napoleon.

The state of things is best illustrated by the finances. The reason why the English national finance is the best in the world is, that it is practically in the hands of one man. Parliament never enforces an amendment to the budget, or, if it does, does so at the risk of causing the Ministry to resign, and is held in check by a wholesome fear of dissolution, while there is no standing committee on the subject, for which the country cannot be too deeply grateful.

In France the Budget Commission bullies the Finance Minister without stint. It will neither accept his plans, nor make any plans of its own. The result is that the accounts of any year cannot be got settled, no definite control can be obtained, either of revenue or expenditure, and chaos is rapidly settling down over the whole system. But, at least, the Finance Minister, by being in the Chamber, lets the country see where the difficulty is, as is made clear by the comments of the press. If he were excluded, the Budget Commission would at once disappear from the public eye, would carry on its squabbles and jobbery and intrigues in the secrecy of the committee-room, and the ruin would be none the less certain, and more speedy, because unseen. (Perhaps an analogous case may suggest itself, with the modification that a surplus is much more easily dealt with than a deficit.) Morever, if the Minister's tenure of office were any less uncertain outside of than in the Chamber, it would be because he would become so insignificant as not to be worth the expenditure of force.

Three things the recent experience of France does show to be necessary, viz.: that the Ministers should have fixed terms of office; that the Chambers should be reëlected at fixed and not too long intervals; and that the President, appointing the Finance Minister, should be elected by the whole people.

(1.) If the Finance Minister is to contend successfully with the Budget Committee, he must be independent of it. Of course, the Chamber will go with the Committee against the Minister every time, not because he is of this or that party, but because he is the executive and they the legislature. If he is dependent upon the Chamber for his tenure of office, he is of course defenceless against and the mere tool of the Budget Commission. If, on the other hand, he receives his office through the President from the nation, and cannot be turned out, he can show fight, and make the country understand that the issue is whether he or the Budget Commission is to control the finances—a problem which I imagine would not long remain doubtful.

(2.) In France, dissolution depends upon the President, with the consent of the Senate; and as he is elected by the Chambers, and, like the Senate, is mortally afraid of the other branch, it is a feeble weapon. Moreover, being uncertain as to time, it is, like death, less feared, and the voters are less prepared for it. If elections came at regular and certain intervals, numbers would have their eyes always turned thither, while the people, knowing they would have to exercise a choice at such a time, would watch the conduct of members. If this is not quite true in this country it is because, owing to the exclusion of the Cabinet from Congress, and the secrecy with which business is carried on, the voters do not and cannot know what their members are doing, or whether they are doing anything.

(3.) From the way in which President Carnot is received in his tours through France, it does not appear that he is any less popular than Gen. Boulanger, or that if he chose he could not satisfy the demand for one-man power in a perfectly constitutional way. If he would tell the people that the danger lay in the supremacy of the Chamber and of the Budget Commission, and that it was absolutely necessary that his Ministers should be supported, the Chamber would soon begin to get some strong hints. Even the Boulanger scare has had a wholesome effect upon members. But M. Carnot will not do this. He was elected by the Chambers, and they knew their man. He is not the elect of the people, and he will not, even if he could, talk to them as if they were in direct relations.

How different it is in this country! I suppose it will be admitted that the issue of tariff reform in this campaign was almost wholly owing to Mr. Cleveland's message; without that, it would have dragged on with the old generalities and personalities. It is a wonderful instance of the power of a personal appeal from an elected official to his constituents, while Congress and its party managers are eliminated and thrown aside in an amusing manner, and probably not much to the satisfaction of that august body.

I should like to point out how the same power of the President could be used in the detail of tariff reform; but it is too big a subject for the end of a letter, and will, moreover, have more point after the election. G. B.

Boston, October 27, 1888.

THE GENESIS OF THE LONDON *TIMES* FORGERY.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In a copy of H. C. Carey's 'Slave Trade, Domestic and Foreign,' printed in 1867, but copyrighted in 1853, appears the following, credited to the London *Times:*

"When the Celt has crossed the Atlantic, he begins for the first time in his life to consume the manufactures of this country, and, indirectly, to contribute to its customs. We may possibly live to see the day when the chief product of Ireland will be cattle, and English and Scotch the majority of her population. The nine or ten millions of Irish who by that time will have settled in the United States, cannot be less friendly to England, and will certainly be much better customers to her, than they now are."

No date is given, and it is therefore impossible to verify the quotation. It is certainly as brutally frank as the famous sentence to the same effect ascribed by Republicans to the same source. This you affirm to be a forgery, and implore gods and men to punish the perpetrator and circulators thereof. H. C. Carey has manufactured the quotation, taken it at second-hand, or it is true. Those who, like the editor of the *Nation*, have watched the drift of English sentiment on Irish affairs, as reflected in the London *Times* and other approved organs of English opinion, will readily admit that, if Mr. Carey's quotation be untrue, it has a remarkable verisimilitude.

Yours, etc., E. M.

Englewood, Ill., October 20, 1888.

[We thank our correspondent for his not too gracious indication of the probable source of the forged quotation from the London *Times*. We will add that it is to be found on page 191 of the edition of 1872. One may well be surprised that a work on the 'Slave Trade,' copyrighted in 1853, when the South was astir to reopen the traffic, owing to the rising prices of slaves, should have been thought worth reprinting in 1867, and even as late as 1872. The fact is, however, that the title conceals a protection diatribe against Great Britain as a manufacturing monopolist, in the course of which Mr. Carey reinforced the old pro-slavery "argument" that the poor of Ireland were as truly slaves as the blacks at the South. It is in this section of his work that an article from the London *Times* is disjointedly cited, without any hint of the date of it except that it was after the British census of March 31, 1851, and presumably as soon as the population statistics were made public.

These statistics showed an extraordinary falling off in the population of Ireland, as the result of the famine and the consequent wholesale emigration to the United States. We infer from the fragments reproduced by Mr Carey that this exodus was made the text of an article in the *Times*, which, observing the rate of a quarter of a million a year, anticipated a thorough evacuation—as did the Connaught *Western Star*, also quoted by Mr. Carey on page 189. The *Times* saw in this a providential remedy for "the inveterate Irish disease" ("surer . . . than any human wit could have imagined"). Convinced that Ireland under the Celts could never be prosperous and happy, the *Times* viewed with satisfaction the prospect of the Irish forsaking their country to mingle with the Anglo-Americans, and giving place at home to the "more mixed, more docile, and more serviceable race" inhabiting Great Britain.

This may be thought an unsympathetic, calculating, and selfish view of the great westward movement, but we do not ourselves find it "brutally frank." The *Times* wished no harm to the emigrants, but, on the contrary, predicted for them across seas a degree of prosperity and happiness such as seemed unattainable in Ireland. If we compare the sentiments of this Tory journal with those held at the very same time by Mr. Carey's great chief, Henry Clay, and by Northern and Southern divines in plenty, with regard to colonizing the free or emancipated blacks of this country under compulsion—and for their commingling, not with a higher race, but with the barbarous natives of Africa—we must admit that the American inhumanity was unspeakably the greater.

Since our correspondent pretends that the extract which he restores in its true language, if not in its connection, and the base counterfeit to which the Republicans have given unblushing circulation, are "to the same effect," it is necessary to print the latter once more, even if *ad nauseam:*

"The only time that England can use an Irishman is when he emigrates to America and votes for free trade."

If "E. M." thinks the true extract as well qualified as the false to serve campaign purposes in winning over the Irish vote, let him use his influence with the Republican managers to substitute it in their lying documentary appeals to race hatred.—Ed. Nation.]

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HIGH-PRICED BREAD.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I notice that some of the labor organizations have adopted resolutions protesting against the recent advance in the price of bread, and denouncing "Old Hutch" as a public enemy. So far as these organizations are supporters of Harrison, is not this action somewhat inconsistent? They object to cheap clothing, because, as Mr. Harrison says, a cheap coat implies a cheap man under the coat. Or, to take the ordinary Protectionist view, if high-priced wool and woollen goods benefit the laboring man by stimulating industry, is not this much more true of high-priced bread? We produce ourselves but a moiety of the wool and woollens we consume; but we produce all, and much more than all, the wheat and flour. If, therefore, it is an advantage to workingmen to make woollen goods artificially dear, it should be a much greater advantage to make bread artificially dear. Assuming that "Old Hutch" is really responsible, instead of denouncing him as a public enemy, they should laud him as a public benefactor. J. M'L. S.

DAYTON, OHIO.

THE NORTHERN CONSUMER'S VIEW.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It is frequently urged by Republicans (I see by your issue of the 25th inst. that the Boston *Commercial Bulletin* has recently taken up the cry again), that the Mills bill sacrifices Northern to Southern interests, the contrast being usually made between wool and sugar. As regards these articles, certainly, there is an answer to be made which must appeal to every man and woman who is not above counting the cost of the necessaries of life.

Sugar is probably used to the same amount per head in all parts of the country (unless, indeed, its presence in mint juleps raises the Southern average), so that, while all who look at the tariff from the consumer's standpoint would have been glad had the Mills bill done more for them in this respect, Northerners cannot complain that they are worse off than Southerners.

With wool the case is different. That part of the country which would be most benefited by any lowering of the present exorbitant price of all kinds of woollen goods is obviously the North, because, being the colder region, it uses far more wool, both for clothes, blankets, and carpets, than does the sunny South.

I believe that, as a matter of fact, the South raises more wool than the North (Mr. Mills's own State, as you point out, raising the most of all), so that the charge of sectionalism is groundless; but, even apart from this, it is clear that, as far as free wool—the most radical and probably the most criticised feature of the Mills bill—affects the interests of the mass of the community, the North is favored by that measure far more than the South. C. C. B.

PHILADELPHIA, October 26, 1888.

A CORRECTION FROM BISHOP BECKWITH.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your issue of October 18, page 305, I find what purports to be a quotation from me in these words: "The old-fashioned Gospel of Christ and Him crucified has satisfied the world for centuries, but a new era is upon us." I certainly never intended to make such a statement, nor do I think that I ever did. What I tried to say—and thought I did say—was, that "the *old-fashioned mode of preaching* the Gospel of Christ and Him crucified has satisfied the world for centuries, etc." I think that the sentence with which I am credited in the *Nation* conveys the idea that, in my judgment, the new era which is upon us demands some change in "the old-fashioned Gospel of Christ and Him crucified." Nothing can be farther from my belief. I do not think that those who heard me misunderstood my meaning, which was simply this: The faith of many of our young men in the fundamental truths of the Christian religion is being shaken; therefore, instead of the old-fashioned mode of preaching the Gospel, which took for granted the soundness of this faith, our preaching should be in defence of the faith and in answer to those who deny it.

My faith in the "old-fashioned Gospel of Christ and Him crucified" is the very foundation of all my hopes; and the study of the "new theories" which characterize this age has only strengthened my belief in the statement of the great master of induction—the Apostle Paul—that "the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being perceived through the things that are made, even His everlasting power and divinity."

Trusting that you will pardon my troubling you, and that you will do me the favor to make for me the desired correction, believe me

Most respectfully yours, etc.,

JOHN W. BECKWITH, Bishop of Georgia.

ATLANTA, GA., October 26, 1888.

PROF. PAYNE ON GERMAN BOOKS ON EDUCATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I leave it for your readers to judge whether the two sentences quoted below in parallel columns are equivalent. The first contains what Prof. Payne *did* say, the second what, according to his letter in your last issue, he *intended* to say:

"To be even approachable, a German work on the philosophy of education needs to be translated twice, first into English and then into English common sense."	"The speculations of a German educational philosopher frequently need, not only to be turned literally into English, but to be paraphrased . . . in order to come within the ready comprehension of the ordinary reader."

The sentence at the right, as I understand it, expresses a commonplace which applies to any book in any language, if "the ordinary reader" means one reading his own language only. I neither took Prof. Payne's original utterance in that sense, nor do I look upon the teachers in whose midst it was made as ordinary readers. Rather than charging one who fails to give to his original statement the sense of his subsequent interpretation with "a gratuitous assumption . . . for an unworthy purpose," it behooved Prof. Payne to say what he intended to say, and to state the *worthy* purpose for which it was said.

Mr. Drew's remarks are for the most part irrelevant; the question is not one of the merit of German literary style, especially not of the style of authors who lived and died before the vast majority of the most valuable works on education were written. I felt justified in bringing this subject to the notice of your readers, considering that it must be of some interest to them to know how far university students of pedagogy are encouraged to pursue that science in a broad and scholarly spirit. On this point Mr. Drew's letter throws no light whatever. Yet he will admit that Matthew Arnold and Mr. Hosmer could not have given us their valuable contributions to the study of German education and literature, had they been frightened in their early manhood by the horrors of the "awful German language." It is also clear that occasional criticisms of the defects of German style from the pens of such writers can neither appear ungracious nor repel any student. Y.

Notes.

A. D. F. RANDOLPH & Co. will publish immediately 'The Historical Memorials of Canterbury,' in a limited large-paper edition uniform with Dean Stanley's 'Memorials of Westminster,' 'The Autobiography and Memorials of Samuel Irenæus Prime,' edited by Wendell Prime; 'The Testimony of Justin Martyr to Early Christianity,' by the Rev. Geo. T. Purves; 'The Only Way Out,' a story of doubt and belief, by Leander S. Keyser; and 'The Peerless Prophet,' a Life of John the Baptist, by the Rev. Archibald McCullagh.

Additional announcements by Houghton, Mifflin & Co. are 'The Witch in the Glass, and Other Poems,' by Mrs. S. M. B. Piatt; 'A Blockaded Family,' a story of the war from the Southern side, by Mrs. Parthenia Hague; and 'People and Countries Visited in a Winding Journey Around the World,' by O. W. Wight.

T. Y. Crowell & Co. have nearly ready an unabridged translation—the first ever made—of Tolstoi's 'What to Do,' in an inexpensive popular form; 'Her Only Brother,' from the German of "Heimburg" (Bertha Behrens); and 'Scotch Caps,' by J A K, a story for young folks.

The Victor Hugo furore still prevails. Estes & Lauriat of Boston and W. R. Jenkins of New York have in hand a magnificent illustrated two-volume edition of 'Notre Dame de Paris'—the former firm in a new translation by A. L. Alger, the latter in the original French, with adornments in common. There will be nearly 200 illustrations, sixteen of them aquarelles. The University Press, Cambridge, will manufacture the work, of which there will be 500 copies in each set.

Encouraged by the great success of their most beautiful edition of 'L'Abbé Constantin,' with photogravure illustrations by Mme. Madeleine Lemaire, MM. Boussod, Valadon & Cie. are going to issue this year a similar edition of M. Guy de Maupassant's 'Pierre et Jean,' with illustrations by M. Duez and M. Lynch. The choice of book is not so happy. M. Halévy's novel was delightfully brisk and perfectly proper, while M. Maupassant's is sombre, analytic, and rather unpleasant in tone.

'The Curse of Marriage,' a novel by Walter Hubbell, is in the press of the American News Co.

Much interest should attach to 'The Life and Letters of Mary Howitt,' edited by her daughter, of which the English publishers will be the Messrs. Isbister; and to 'Dante Gabriel Rossetti as Designer and Writer: Notes by W. M. Rossetti,' which Cassell & Co. will issue.

We learn with great pleasure that Macmillan & Co. are about to issue, for the Society of Dilettanti, a new edition of Penrose's invaluable 'Principles of Athenian Architecture,' the result of the author's recent year in Athens. The greater part of the present book will remain as it is, but there will be much new matter relating to the Erechtheion; the temple adjoining it, of which the remains were brought to light not long since; the Propylaia; the older

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Parthenon; and the Temple of the Olympian Zeus; and a number of plates will be added.

Apropos of the Erechtheion, in the destruction of the so-called "Odysseus bastion," erected by the Greek general of that name at the northwest corner of the Acropolis, an inscription was discovered last spring which appears to be a portion of the famous building account of the Erechtheion. It is of especial importance, because it proves that this temple had a pediment (*aierés*) at both its eastern and its western end, and therefore a pointed roof—a fact that has never been established before. The inscription is published, but not described, by Lolling in the last number of the Athenian *Mittheilungen des Instituts*.

Four holiday gift-books on our table bear the imprint of J. B. Lippincott Co. The best of these is not new, except in size, being Keats's 'Lamia' with the notable illustrations of Will H. Low, which suffer less than might have been expected by the present reduction, and, decoratively viewed, hardly any. The book is now handy for enjoyment of the poem as well as of the designs, is less cumbersome, and still makes a handsome show on the centre-table, the cover being very tasteful and ornamental. Altogether crude and uninspired are the etchings which are supposed to add something to the classical texts of Goldsmith's 'Traveller' and Goethe's 'Hermann and Dorothea.' Only the typography of the former can be praised: that of the latter is much too condensed for beauty. Both these volumes have a smart binding in leatherette, or "new-style leather." The last book of the above group is 'Béranger's Poems,' a collection of upwards of fifty translations gathered together by Mr. William S. Walsh. He has, he says, been careful to omit what was indelicate; but as the collection is truly representative, this point can hardly be insisted on—witness Thackeray's version of "Le Grenier," to mention no others. The most of the translations are by William Young, William Maginn, and Robert Brough; more than a fourth are anonymous. Half a hundred unexceptional renderings of so difficult a poet were not to be counted on. "Les étoiles qui filent" is an example of failure not without excuse. The volume is well printed, has a few explanatory notes, and a number of copies of old-fashioned steel plates that adorned some early French edition. The binding is attractive.

The illustrated edition of Henry C. Work's well-known poem 'Marching through Georgia' (Ticknor & Co.) does not achieve distinction. The best woodcut is a portrait of Gen. Sherman, which serves as a frontispiece.

In Margaret Sidney's 'Old Concord, her Highways and Byways' (D. Lothrop Co.), the purchaser will find both a practicable guide-book to this historical locality and an agreeable fireside itinerary. The pleasant discourse is much aided by very judicious selections of bits of scenery, houses, interiors, etc., copied after nature by "process" engraving. These are charming enough. Among them occurs the Public Library, and one can but feel that this institution is a better guarantee of the permanence of what was good and great in the past of the quiet town than the richest of historical associations and traditions, and the various memorial monuments and tablets exhibited in this handsome volume.

We may fitly join with the foregoing a brief mention of Mrs. Ednah D. Cheney's 'Louisa May Alcott, the Children's Friend' (Boston: L. Prang & Co.). This is an unaffected account, for children, of the life of Miss Alcott, especially as reflected in her juvenile stories, and has been written with the utmost good taste and sobriety. A few pen-drawings of homes and residences are scattered through the text. An appendix preserves a few family poems by Miss Alcott and her father.

Likewise for children is the 'Longfellow Remembrance Book' (D. Lothrop Co.), the work of several hands, but the poet's brother and biographer has the largest and the best share in it. He has the knack of addressing the young, and tells them here nothing that will fail to interest them. There are numerous helpful illustrations.

Geo. Routledge & Sons send us two fancy almanacs for 1889. That designated "The Kirmess Almanac" we can only say is appropriately illustrated — not very well — with dancing groups of various nationalities. Kate Greenaway's smaller Almanac is in her usual vein of pastoral daintiness, with no change in the dramatis personæ or in her color scheme, and with little art in drawing where the puppet model does not serve. Herrick, Milton, and Shakspere furnish the sole text.

'A Winter Picnic,' by J. and E. Dickinson and S. C. Dowd (Henry Holt & Co.) gives a chatty description of the pleasant spending of several months in Nassau by a party of ladies, and of their modest housekeeping there. The most interesting portions relate the peculiarities of the colored population. The length of the book is out of proportion to its attractiveness, and the too frequent careless familiarity of the style borders on rudeness to the reading public. However, it may be useful as a guide-book.

An amusing illustration of the public demand for sugar-coated instruction is 'Molly Bishop's Family,' by Catherine Owen (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.). Under the guise of a story, we find a sort of compound treatise on domestic matters: for instance, on the training of babies, the choice of furniture, the financial and culinary management of a small boarding-house, etc., not to speak of recipes for meat-pies and other things. Fortunately, good sense pervades it, and no doubt it will prove useful to many.

It is with great pleasure that we record the publication of 'The Dramatic Year, 1887–1888, Brief Criticisms of Important Theatrical Events in the United States,' edited by Edward Fuller (Boston: Ticknor & Co.), because it shows that a literary interest in the acted drama is increasing; and as this interest is brought to bear, it will in time have its effect on the contemporary stage—an effect which cannot but be wholesome. Mr. Fuller's preface intimates that this is probably the first of an annual series, and we trust that its success will encourage him. The volume contains twenty-seven papers on important plays, performances, and productions, seen in New York and Boston during the past theatrical season. These papers were written by the editor, in part, and in part by Messrs. H. M. Ticknor, L. H. Weeks, G. E. Montgomery, J. R. Towse, C. T. Copeland, and B. E. Woolf (who supplies an analysis of "Ambitious Amateurs," *i. e.*, Mrs. Langtry, Mrs. Potter, Miss Banks, Miss Mather, *et al.*). Mr. William Archer contributes an incisive review of the London theatrical season of 1887–1888, which he says will be marked in his memory "by two delightful pictures, indelibly printed—the pictures of two American actresses in two Shaksperian characters: Miss Anderson as *Perdita*, and Miss Rehan as *Katharine*." In the succeeding annual issues it would be well to append a double index of plays and of players.

Shakespeariana for October (Philadelphia: Leonard Scott Publication Co.) is an exceptionally valuable number. The symposium, "How did you become a Shakspere student?" is rather disappointing, though it is something to learn that Miss Helen Faucit gave the needful impulse to Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps to begin that pursuit of Shaksperiana which has attained such prodigious dimensions. Mr. Talcott Williams furnishes a bibliography of the "Taming of the Shrew," and Helen A. Clarke a list of Shakspere "operas, operatized dramas, and overtures," with dates of first representations.

The November number of the Photo-Gravure Company's *Sun and Shade* is much the best of the three thus far issued. The two classes of plates are kept by themselves, instead of being mingled as heretofore, and violent contrasts have thus been avoided. Moreover, a decided "actuality" is given to this portfolio by two capital photogravure portraits of Messrs. Morton and Thurman, and by one of Mme. Jane Hading, whose histrionic art is now claiming our admiration. In landscape we have a rough yet tender woodland scene from the brush of William Hamilton Gibson, and a prospect of the battlefield of Gettysburg, from nature, the point of view being Little Round Top. The excuse for this latter plate is the bronze statue to Gen. G. K. Warren erected on the summit. This gallant soldier looks in the print like a Quaker pedestrian surveying the scene, field-glass in hand; or, if we make out that his sword is not a staff, then he seems but the hero of Quaker guns. Architecture is pleasingly represented by an engraving of the Tower of Catherine de Médicis at Blois.

The first paper in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* for October is Mr. H. H. Johnston's entertaining account of his explorations in the Cameroons, originally read before the British Association. In view of the German phonetic spelling, Kamerun, he gives as a reason for retaining the common form the fact that it is not, as they appear to think, a native word, but is simply a corruption of the Portuguese "camarões" (shrimps), betokening the abundance of these animals in the adjacent waters. Among other excursions, he ascended to the highest peak of the Cameroon Mountains, which he found to be 13,508 feet above the sea. He dwells upon the great value to the white residents of the coast of the mountain slopes as a sanatarium. That a European climate was within two days' journey from the pestilent swamps of the Delta seems to have been a fact up to this time very strangely ignored. It is encouraging to learn that sweet wines "are rapidly usurping the place of rum and gin in native estimation." An interesting account of a recent journey in Little Russia, by Mr. E. Delmar Morgan, and Mr. H. R. Mills's "Sea Temperature on the Continental Shelf," both of which were read at Bath, complete the number, with the exception, of course, of the usual geographical notes, which are compiled with great care and completeness.

Excavations are being conducted at Mykenæ with great results. It now appears that there are pre-Homeric tombs on all sides of the city, cut or dug into the hills like the "Treasury of Atreus," with passages leading to them, though, if we may judge from brief descriptions received, much less pretentious in size and style. Remains of bodies found show that they were not burned, but laid at full length in the burial chamber, and large numbers of prehistoric ornaments, of an Oriental character, have been found.

—General Sheridan's reminiscences of the march of the German army from Gravelotte to Sedan, which *Scribner's* offers its readers this month, make a paper of very great interest as an expression of the man himself, as

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well as for the sake of the personages whom he so closely observed, and of the critical events which he witnessed. The principal figure is Bismarck, and it must be acknowledged that no pen has drawn the Chancellor with so life-like strokes. It is not that Bismarck said or did anything remarkable; but Sheridan saw the man, and he has related small details in such a way as to give that elusive personality which biographers seek often in vain. It is not too much to say, without intending any derogation by the reference, that Boswell himself did not render the old doctor with greater directness. It is a paper which must be read entire, however, in its own words. The military criticism is slight. The force of the whole lies in the clear ocular sight, if one may use a seeming tautology, both of the eminent men and of the field of operation; and Sheridan had the gift of telling what he saw. The second paper of leading interest is the survey of the working life of railroad employees. The whole corps is covered, from the hero of the locomotive to the station agent. The variety of work needed to sustain the system is set forth fully, and the responsibilities and hardships of the hands strongly brought out. The peculiarity of the employment is that a single error has such fatal consequences, and hence there must be a continual strain, which few men can support without sometimes relaxing the tension. It is observed that, notwithstanding the many improvements which have diminished the chances of injury to the employees, it is necessary still to hold the corporations to their duty in this respect by law. This is a disagreeable truth. The writer gives to the employees generally an excellent character, and what he says goes to show that strikes are not fair exponents of what the men really are. Mr. Stevenson's opening chapters of "The Master of Ballantrae" promise exciting adventure, and contrast with the quiet and somewhat despairing ending of "First Harvests." Mr. Stimson exercises a doubtful power in an author in wreaking vengeance on the characters he hates and detests with so thorough a good-will. Mr. Birrell's article upon Arnold, Mr. Brownell's on "French Manners," and General Greely's upon our "Winter Climate" also deserve mention in this sterling number.

—*Harper's* is full of beautiful illustrations of the engraver's art in landscape, and of striking or curious cuts of ancient and foreign objects. The paper upon the Lower St. Lawrence, while it is excellent in its choice of subjects and in its literary touch, fades out beside the series of illustrations, which give the characteristics of the landscape and the people with a freshness and vigor and picturesqueness that bring them home to the eye at once. The writer upon the Boats of the Tagus, too, is indebted to the sharply-lined cuts of the strangely-rigged craft which live in its waters, for the precision with which his words are realized. In the article upon Elk-hunting, likewise, though the tale of adventure and slaughter is well told, with a sportsman's relish, and something of the true sportsman's regret that any other than himself should do the exterminating, many readers will find the pictures of the splendid, great-antlered animals the more enjoyable. Theodore Child employs the combined arts of photography and engraving in a more utilitarian fashion, to set before the reader the image of the interesting curiosities which are housed in the Museum of the Hôtel Carnavalet at Paris, and which illustrate the history of the city from the earliest times. He selects the objects of the Revolutionary period to form the bulk of the article; and between the cuts and the gossip of the text, the paper is one of the most successful from his very prolific pen. The most entertaining contribution, however, is by Charles Gayarré upon the New Orleans Bench and Bar in 1823. It is novel in its method, and reproduces the figures of Mazureau and Hennen, Grymes, Edward Livingston, and Moreau Lislet, taken as typical lawyers of the French-English régime, in a series of scenes from the court-room, conducted in dialogue between judge, jury, and the opposing counsel. The vivacity and strength of these reminiscences are remarkable; and as a contribution to a most perishable and a most attractive part of our provincial history, the article has real interest beyond its powers of entertainment. We should mention, too, Mr. Richard Wheatley's account of the New York Real Estate Exchange, with several excellent portraits, and much encyclopædic information in respect to the methods and the operations of the Exchange and the history of real-estate values in this city. The number is the best which this magazine has issued for some time.

—Mr. Bradford Torrey opens the November *Atlantic* with a chronicle of the month, a floral and ornithological chronicle, in which he does not so much say a good word for "the melancholy days" as prove a good case for them. Indeed, without relying too much on the ever-hoped-for Indian summer, the long-accustomed observer finds the autumn as tardy in departing as the spring is in coming to our northern hillsides, and the snow is as likely to flurry down upon our asters as upon our young hyacinths. Mr. Torrey found seventy-three species of plants in blossom, among them the Deptford pink, and he counted twenty-five species of birds still lingering in the wood and meadow. Of his search for one of these, the Ipswich sparrow, which was unknown until 1868, he gives a pleasant account, making it the best episode of his little paper, delightful for the unconscious feeling with which he renders the scenery of the beach—not the sky and sea, but the mere sand-hills, the bare grass, and the tracks of the birds through it. It is noticeable that these observations are taken near the seacoast, which is favorable to a variety of species and to the late blooming of the plants. Mrs. Lillie B. Chace Wyman takes us back to factory life, and to one of its most disagreeable and unjust phases, that of black-listing. She describes her visit to the houses of the hands, and particularly two or three of these black-listed men whom she found there, and who are various enough to serve as types. It would be impossible to practise black-listing without leaving the door wide open for injustice, arbitrariness, and caprice; and in these cases the writer finds nothing to support the decision of the overseers that these men should not receive work from anybody in the business to which they were trained. The paper, like all from her pen, has the value belonging to the work of an intelligent, interested, and trustworthy observer. Prof. Trowbridge presents, in another short paper, the latest educational idea, and it is one which, if accepted, would truly be revolutionary. It is in fact a sporadic development of the elective system. He would have, as we understand it, only one study, or closely allied group of two or three, pursued at once, for a period of perhaps three months, and then another study or group should be taken up for the same time, and so on, to the end of the curriculum. This scheme is not likely to receive much attention, the length of time during which one is conversant with a subject being quite as important an element in education as the intensity of the interest in it for a short time.

—The layman who labors under a feeling of essential inferiority to scientific men because their work is beyond his comprehension, may take comfort on seeing how little the work of scientists differs from that of ordinary men when they address themselves to general questions. The latest illustration of this is furnished by Prof. Cope's article on "The Relation of the Sexes to Government" in the *Popular Science Monthly* for October. The article opens with some observations on the antiquity of the difference between the sexes, and on the great advance which was made in the possibilities of progress when sexual reproduction first made its appearance among living things; but the unwary reader who is led to expect that this exceedingly ancient history is going to throw any light on the question, will find himself completely disappointed. In point of fact, the author himself soon leaves this "scientific" point of view, and rambles in a very inconsecutive manner over the familiar ground of woman's disabilities, as disclosed by what he calls "ordinary observation." The arguments of the article depend essentially on the unquestioning acceptance of the results of such observation, which are embodied, in the main, in the following passage:

"We find in men a greater capacity for rational processes, a capacity which is not always exercised to its full. We find in men a greater capacity for endurance of the activity of the rational faculty. We find in men a greater capacity for work in the higher departments of intelligence which require mechanical skill of a high order."

—Prof. Cope not only accepts, without so much as the insinuation of a doubt, these results of a kind of observation which if a scientific man were to accept in his specialty, he would be supposed to have lost his senses; he does not for a moment consider how great may be the degree of this incapacity, but takes it for granted that it must be sufficient to be fatal to the claims of women. He says elsewhere that most men have had to steel their minds against the aimlessness and pettiness of women, and have observed in them "a pronounced frailty of the rational faculty in thought or action." It is to be hoped that a very respectable minority among men have been more fortunate; but in any case, does Prof. Cope think it scientific to assume, as he does throughout his article, that if women should take part in government, all the beautiful qualities for which he gives them credit will take flight, while the aimlessness and pettiness and irrationality will remain unaffected? Whichever side one may take on the question of women's political aspirations, one may regret that scientists should not set an example of clear and consecutive thinking when discussing a subject upon which plenty of loose writing has been done. And the sooner scientific writers learn that the catchwords of evolution and of physical science are not sufficient to give authority to their utterances on subjects which require chiefly sound judgment and knowledge of human affairs, the better it will be for their influence in the world.

—Our note on the proposed coöperative portrait catalogue, discussed at the Catskill meeting of the American Library Association (*Nation*, Oct. 4), has brought us a number of letters of inquiry from collectors. But we find that there is a general misunderstanding of the matter. The Association did not propose undertaking a general catalogue of portraits: that is a very desirable thing, but is far beyond its powers either of preparation or of printing. What it has in mind is to make coöperatively, and print by subscription, a list of the portraits in such

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collections as Lodge's, Kay's, the Clouets at Castle Howard, 'Men of Mark,' the half-dozen national portrait galleries, Petitot's 'Émaux,' the 'Allgemeines historisches Porträtwerk,' the 'Galerie Théâtrale,' Crombie's 'Modern Athenians,' etc.; and the old magazines that used to give a portrait a month, and books like the fine new edition of Grammont's Memoirs. If anyone wants the portrait of any person in whom he has become interested in his reading, he may, of course, find it in the first book he consults; but the chances are that he will have to finger the indexes of half the portrait collections in his library (when they have indexes, which is not always) before he finds what he is in search of. What a help if he could turn to an alphabetically arranged general index, and be referred to the very work, volume, and page where his man was portrayed! Portraits published singly are easily found in a library, for they are of course catalogued under the name of the person. A general catalogue of portraits, therefore, though it has other uses, does not uncover any buried treasures in a library, and would not deserve library coöperation.

—A correspondent writes us:

"Your editorial on the Whitechapel murders calls to mind one of De Quincey's fragments, a sequel to the 'Essay upon Murder as a Fine Art,' wherein he describes with frightful vividness a series of murders in this same East London in the year 1812. De Quincey, of course, treated the subject from an æsthetic standpoint, as befitted his theme; but the series of household murders, committed (as it afterwards proved) by one man, as cunning as he was ferocious, bears a remarkable resemblance to the crimes over which London is agitated this very month. East London and human nature in it, as your editorial suggests, remain quite constant, it would seem."

—Some idea of the importance attached to the study of Greek archæology in Germany, and of the extraordinary activity of the Imperial Archæological Institute in this field of research, may be formed from the report of Herr Conze, Secretary of the Institute, presented at a recent meeting of the Berlin Academy of Arts and Sciences. The headquarters of the Institute are in Berlin, where the executive officer is a *Generalsekretär*, Herr Conze, director of the classical department of the Berlin Museum. In Rome and Athens the Institute has branch establishments, that in Rome occupying an estate which belongs to it, while that in Athens is about to hire of Dr. Schliemann a house built expressly for the Institute this year, the former quarters having been in an ordinary dwelling-house. Each of these branches is under the charge of two secretaries, in Rome Herren Petersen and Hülsen, in Athens Herren Dörpfeld and Wolters. Members of the Institute who are pursuing investigations in Italy or Greece are provided with quarters in either of these buildings. The periodical publications of the Institute are its *Jahrbuch*, published quarterly in Berlin, the *Mittheilungen* of the Athenian and Roman branches respectively, the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, a supplement to the Corpus of Latin inscriptions, and the *Antike Denkmäler*, a folio of twelve plates annually, in which all the resources of modern reproductive art are called upon to illustrate newly discovered or important works.

—Valuable as these periodicals are, they appear almost insignificant beside the great publications which the Institute has under way, some of which have already occupied more than a generation of workers. Those of which Herr Conze made mention in his report are the Corpus, if we may so call it, of Roman Sarcophagi, by Prof. Carl Robert, of which one volume is now in press, Kekulé's work on Greek Terra-cottas, of which a volume on the reliefs of the Campana style is now in preparation, a collection of Etruscan cinerary urns, by Herr Körte, who is also continuing Gerhard's great work on the Etruscan mirrors, having already issued seven parts of his supplement. In addition to his labors in the Museum, and in the preparation of the great work on Pergamon, Herr Conze has charge of the Corpus of Greek grave-reliefs, also under the auspices of the Institute. In topography the most important work of the Institute is the *Karten von Attika*, by Curtius and Kaupert, of which five parts have appeared. All these publications are conducted under the immediate direction of the Institute, to which reports of progress are made by the several editors at stated intervals. The expense of these superbly illustrated volumes is naturally very great, the amount of travel necessitated being no inconsiderable item, and is, we believe, met entirely by the imperial Ministry of Public Instruction, by whom appropriations are made annually for the Institute.

ELY'S AMERICAN MUNICIPAL TAXATION.

Taxation in American States and Cities. By Richard T. Ely, Ph.D., assisted by John H. Finley, A.B. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co.

In spite of much hasty investigation and more hasty deduction, this volume is almost invaluable to students of American politics. It is the first attempt that has been made at a systematic presentation of the history and present status of the American experiments in local taxation. Of the qualities necessary for the work, Prof. Ely possessed three of prime importance—industry, a gift for popularizing economic subjects, and a zeal for reform. Unfortunately, it is the last of these qualities that is disproportionately prominent. As a scientific work, this volume on 'Taxation' cannot be ranked with the author's 'French and German Socialism.' It is the work of an agitator, not that of a critic. In season and out of season, Prof. Ely pleads for state and municipal socialism. The fact that the American system of levying local taxes amounts to the exercise by the public of a part ownership in the property taxed, does not in any wise satisfy him. He follows blindly his German masters. The socialism which he advocates is not the increased recognition of the duties of property, wherein America leads the world while Germany has yet the first lessons to learn, but the German ideal of state management of business enterprises. He advocates, for instance, the abandonment of the American plan of assessing abutting land for street improvements and taxing it for general public expenses, and would instead provide for "the finest educational facilities the world has ever seen" by a law or constitutional provision,

"that no new street shall be laid out by any municipality through land which it does not own; this land to be acquired as agricultural land, and to be leased as demand might arise at auction, in periods of twenty-five years, to be released at the expiration of that period; the lessee, if a new person, to acquire improvements at an appraised valuation."

There is, it will be seen, no confiscation in this plan. It is the socialism of the chair, not that of the streets. The city merely assumes the position of a private investor who goes in debt for his capital. Whether there would be profits or losses would depend upon (1) whether, in the first instance, the city councilmen showed the economy of a private investor in planning and contracting for street improvements; (2) whether they drove as good bargains in leasing the land; (3) whether as landlords they were as severe in refusing subsequent improvements; and (4) whether the citizens would be anxious to build upon land which was merely leased. In case the councilmen made extravagant contracts in laying out the streets, submitted to hard bargains in leasing the land, yielded to pressure for subsequent improvements, and found citizens averse to building upon lots which they only leased, the plan would involve a succession of losses from beginning to end.

This faith, however, in the plenary inspiration of aldermen in no way mars the historical portion of Prof. Ely's volume. Regarding details, the author shows excellent judgment as to what is interesting and significant. The volume opens with a short sketch of the universal history of taxation, from the time when the Romans waged foreign wars in order to be relieved from taxation, down to the time when Americans—an influential minority, at least—are willing to wage them in order not to be relieved. The recognition that taxation is a blessing instead of a curse did not begin to manifest itself until direct taxation was replaced by indirect. In England this occurred in the reign of Charles II., when Parliament "divested the landed gentry of all feudal obligations to the Crown, without touching their privileges, and replaced these obligations by taxes on beer, wine, tobacco, and spirits." This effectually shifted the burden of taxation upon the propertyless masses, and taxes ceased to annoy the influential classes. But they did not come to be regarded with affectionate devotion until, with the development of commerce, those who controlled legislation learned to incorporate in the tax laws protective features, by which their wealth, instead of being diminished by the nation's burdens, was increased.

Even in our own country, taxation was not always so popular as at present. In colonial times it was with the greatest difficulty that citizens could be persuaded to submit to it. In 1649 the General Treasurer of Rhode Island reported that he had received nothing and had nothing in his hands. Public expenses were frequently defrayed by quit-rents, fines, fees, and lotteries, which last were often employed to secure funds for the erection of schools, and even churches. Very early, however, the colonies had recourse to the property tax. At first the assessments were inconsiderable. In Virginia, in 1796, we find it fixed at one-fourth of one per cent. upon the assessed value of the land. Gradually, as the local governments became more thoroughly democratic, other taxes were repealed, and many of the State constitutions provided that no other should be levied. The name "American system" has been applied by the followers of Henry Clay to the protective tariff, though it was framed entirely upon European models. Prof. Ely, with much greater justice, applies the term to the system of State and local taxation which, by the middle of the century, was completely established in all our commonwealths. He describes it in a single sentence: "It is the taxation of all property, movable and immovable, . . . at one uniform rate."

Prof. Ely, as has been indicated, is not a partisan of the system. He quotes Baron von Reitzenstein's condemnation of it as primitive and crude, and himself goes so far as to declare it to be "so radically bad that the more you improve it the worse it becomes." He recognizes the intensity of the sentiment in its favor among the masses, yet characterizes the efforts to enforce it, which are increasing both in frequency and in strenuousness, as the pur-

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suit of a will-o'-the-wisp. This indictment he supports with a history of the failures which have been made in various States.

This portion of the work has strength. The view taken is already accepted by many of the most intelligent students of taxation, especially in our large cities, and the scholarly way in which Prof. Ely enforces it will doubtless contribute much towards its wider acceptance. Nevertheless, he has failed to demonstrate his point. His investigation is apparently thorough, yet it is not critical. The American theory, as Prof. Ely correctly states it, is the taxation of all property, real and personal, at one uniform rate. A logical consequence of this is, that the property shall be taxed once and not twice. Another logical consequence is, that (since the tax is upon property and not upon incomes) the property shall be taxed in the State where it is, and not in a State where it is not. Where this programme has been carried out, as it has been in Connecticut respecting the stocks and bonds of railroads, and in California respecting all forms of private credits, the system has been a success. The failures which have been made, of which Prof. Ely presents such a formidable array, have been where legislation, in its attempts to reach personal property, has aimed, not at justice, but at retaliation—not at single taxation, but at double taxation.

Prof. Ely bases his declarations as to the universal and increasing failure of the attempts to reach personal property upon the assertion that, while a century ago there was comparatively little personalty in existence, it has during the past few decades rapidly assumed enormous proportions, with no corresponding increase upon the tax duplicate. This is true enough, perhaps, when the term "personalty" is used to include the various certificates of ownership in realty; but if by it is meant movable property, the existence of which adds to the national wealth, the statement is unfounded. Even railroad securities do not represent such property. If railroads were taxed as mortgaged farms are taxed, there would be no danger of driving them out of any of the States. It is thus that Connecticut is now taxing them, and Pennsylvania is preparing to follow her example. If, then, we turn our attention to personalty which exists independent of realty, and which must be taxed as personalty if taxed at all, it becomes exceedingly doubtful whether it has increased in amount or value faster than real estate. In our older and richer States it is certainly not greater comparatively than in the Territories. Regarding the farms, we have authoritative statistics. In Dakota the value of the lands and buildings is $22,400,000; the value of the live-stock, farming implements, etc., is $8,860,000, or 40 per cent. as much. In Connecticut the value of land and buildings is $121,000,000; that of the stock, implements, etc., $14,100,000, or but 11½ per cent. If, instead of farmers, we compare merchants, we know that it is in the agricultural community that the value of the stock of goods they carry is usually most out of proportion to their rents. In short, it seems highly probable that, as time advances and wealth increases, the value of movable property becomes gradually less in proportion to the value of lands and buildings.

California is the State which has attempted most logically to carry out the theory of the property tax. In California, personal property is taxed in the county where it is situated and protected, and whose inhabitants pay for its use. The fact that the owner chooses to spend his income in another community is not thought to give that community a right to levy a second tax. The Constitution provides that "a mortgage, deed of trust, contract, or other obligation by which a debt is secured, shall, for the purposes of assessment and taxation, be deemed and treated as an interest in the property affected thereby." By means of this provision the creditor is made to bear nominally as well as really the tax levied upon the property which he has loaned. This clause in the Constitution was framed for the relief of the debtors. It does relieve them, yet it relieves equally the creditors. These are permitted to contract for any rate of interest, and they are secured against double taxation. Of the success of this plan it need only be said that in 1886, while the assessed value of the realty of the State was but $600,000,000, $98,000,000 of mortgages were returned for taxation, showing practically the same percentage of mortgaged property as was found last year in the investigations of the Michigan Labor Commissioners. A plan similar to that in California is now being followed in Massachusetts.

In California the railroads are exempted from the provisions of the clause in the Constitution, and they escape their share of the taxation. But in Connecticut, as has been said, they do not escape. Here the roads are assessed that proportion of the total value of their stocks and bonds which their Connecticut mileage bears to their total mileage. In the year 1886 they paid in taxation $626,000, though the entire cost of roads and equipment, according to the estimate in Poor's 'Railroad Manual,' was but $48,391,000. Certainly these roads paid their fair share of the State's taxes. If any one will examine critically the Connecticut statistics which are given in Prof. Ely's book, he will be forced to conclude that this commonwealth taxes fully as much property, movable and immovable, as has its actual situs within its borders. The State tax on various corporations other than railroad amounts to $500,000, which is equivalent to the average tax on individual property assessed at $35,000,000. Besides this, $98,000,000 of personalty was returned to the local assessors. As the total amount of realty returned was but $250,000,000, there can be little doubt but that personal property bore its full share of the public burdens. The Connecticut system failed only where it ought to fail—where it attempted to tax intangible securities representing property outside of the State. Such an attempt, if successful, would involve double taxation, quite as much as if citizens of Connecticut were taxed on their foreign real estate. Being, therefore, unjust as well as impracticable, the Tax Commission, in its report of 1887, was wise in recommending its abandonment.

If we except the railroads, which in most States escape taxation, what is true of Connecticut is true throughout the Union. If the owners of all tangible property were taxed where the property is situated, and thus all property were taxed once, the relief to owners of real estate, and the relief to the debtors and honest creditors who now suffer from double taxation, would be of far less importance than the bringing to an end of the enormous amount of perjury now provoked, and the consequent corruption of the national sense of honor. As David A. Wells stated, a good many years ago, the chief trouble now is that the State tries to play the part of an Italian brigand. It seizes the property when the owner is elsewhere, and it seizes the owner when the property is elsewhere. In the latter event, however, it does not carry out effectively the brigand's programme, since it releases its victim if he will but perjure himself. Prof. Ely is justified in what he says of the moral effect of many of the crude attempts at vengeance upon the owners of personalty; but when he makes the chief teaching of his volume to be the ridiculous and increasing inadequacy of the property-tax to reach practically all the wealth of the nation, it is because he has accepted loose estimates regarding the extent of movable property instead of making a searching investigation, and in his zeal for revolution has ignored the successful reforms of the last decade.

Of the substitutes which Prof. Ely offers for the existing system, nothing more need be said than that he recommends that railroads be everywhere taxed upon their gross earnings, as now in Wisconsin. To this it might be objected that many political economists believe that taxes upon gross earnings, like internal-revenue taxes, are, in the main, shifted upon the consumers. It might also be objected that the Wisconsin system in 1886 yielded only 60 per cent. as much revenue as the Connecticut system, though its mileage was seven times as great. But these two objections are of little import compared with the fact that the United States Supreme Court, in May of last year (Philadelphia and Southern Mail Steamship Company v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania) decided that all State taxes on gross receipts from inter-State or foreign commerce are unconstitutional. This far-reaching decision appears to have been wholly overlooked by Prof. Ely.

Prof. Ely has given us, in a popular form, the results of a valuable investigation; but his suggestions as to how to revolutionize the present system are, to speak temperately, worthless.

THE PART OF FRANCE IN AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

Histoire de la participation de la France à l'établissement des États-Unis d'Amérique : Correspondance diplomatique et documents. Par Henri Doniol. Vols. i. and ii. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale; Alphonse Picard, éditeur.

It is not inappropriate that the hundredth anniversary of the founding of the first French republic should be celebrated by the publication, by order of the French Government, of a work on the participation of France in the establishment of American independence; for the reciprocal influence of France and America in the last quarter of the eighteenth century was very great indeed. Of late years, a school of historians has undertaken to teach us that at the time of the Revolutionary war our country became much indebted to Germany and very little indebted to France. This theory excites a natural indignation in the breast of M. Henri Doniol. He will certainly find no difficulty in disposing of the shadowy claims of the friends of Germany, for there was no German government which did anything whatsoever to help the struggling colonies. On the other hand, six German States let out troops, to the number of thirty thousand in all, to put down rebellion in America. Moreover, no German officer of any distinction volunteered to come to this country to help the colonists, with the sole exception of Baron von Steuben, who was induced to do so by the French ministers; for Kalb, although of German birth, was a French officer, who had never held a German commission.

The claim of France is twofold—that of the French Government for help which materially influenced the result; and that of the French people for sympathy which often took shape in outward acts. With the latter, M. Donoil has little to do, except in the case of Lafayette, yet it is perhaps the stronger claim

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of the two. The reforming party in France in 1775 contained all the most generous and thoughtful men of the nation, for the need of reform was evident and the danger not yet apparent. That party was full of enthusiasm for the "insurgents." It was not merely that England was regarded as the natural enemy, but that America itself was believed to be the home of all the virtues. The elaborate simplicity of Franklin was supposed to be typical, and to it was accorded a genuine admiration.

The Government of Louis XVI. looked at politics less sentimentally. That weak and unfortunate monarch acquired by some happy chance, and kept by what must have been an accident, one reasonably competent minister. Charles Gravier, Comte de Vergennes, was not a man of the first rank intellectually. M. Doniol tells us that he had twice, as minister plenipotentiary, checked the plans of Maria Theresa; but that monarch, in her private correspondence, expresses her entire satisfaction with the appointment of Vergennes, whom she characterizes as "not enterprising." The Count had, however, from the beginning of his ministry, one definite policy, namely, to raise the position of France in Europe by means of the Family Compact. That alliance, formed with Spain in 1761 to oppose the encroachments of England, was to be made the pivot of French policy. The close alliance with Austria which had been inaugurated by the Comte de Choiseul in the previous reign, was if necessary to be sacrificed to it. Prussia, and not Austria, Vergennes believed to be the natural ally of France in Germany. But England was the great, the necessary enemy: he considered her so depraved, both in politics and morals, that peaceful considerations would have no weight with her. Accession to power has a tendency to calm the minds of statesmen and to moderate their extreme views, but the irritation of Vergennes was kept up. Lord Stormont, the English ambassador at Versailles, was haughty; St. Paul, the chargé d'affaires, was discourteous; the British Ministers were negligent in answering the complaints made to them concerning violations of rights under the treaty in matters of fishery and commerce. It is easy to believe now that English roughness was responsible for a good deal of the trouble, but the French were uneasy and captious. Their national pride had been deeply wounded by the defeats and losses of the Seven Years' War; and the first partition of Poland, accomplished without their concurrence, seemed to mark more clearly their fall from that first place in Europe to which they considered themselves entitled.

While Vergennes looked forward, not without apprehension, to a war with England at no distant date, he had no desire to hasten it unduly. Above all, he wished Spain to be fully engaged to help France in the struggle, and at this point he was met by delay and difficulty. The views of the two courts were not identical. His Catholic Majesty, Charles III., had complicated interests, and cared less to humble England than to protect himself. If the Court of St. James could only have been brought to give him a free hand with Portugal and the Portuguese possessions in America; if it would have let him bully Morocco and restrain the Algerine pirates; if the thorn of Gibraltar could have been extracted from his side—he might have been glad to let King George set the good example of bringing American insurgents to reason. In vain did Vergennes explain that Algiers and Morocco were but flies, more discomforting than dangerous to Spain, while England was a monster, against which she should always be prepared. The Spanish King might assent to the general proposition; but he was still worried by the flies, and was not without hopes of pacifying the monster. Meanwhile, he urged his nephew, Louis XVI., to improve his fleet. Such advice was by no means uncalled for. Vergennes himself recognized the fact that France was too weak to go to war, and that reforms were needed; for the treasury was disorganized, the expenditures exceeding the receipts every year, and the navy had to be made over from the beginning. So Vergennes talked fair to the English Ministers, while he carefully watched events in America. In the summer of 1775 an agent was sent to Philadelphia. This man, Bonvouloir, was given no real powers, and could be disavowed. In accordance with a system which was extensively followed in later years, he was furnished with a commission in the French army, for the sake of impressing the Americans, and the commission was antedated. Tricks of this sort were a part of the day's work with diplomatists of the last century. M. Doniol gives the fullest account that will probably ever be obtained of the proceedings of Bonvouloir, who, before the publication of this book, had been known only as a shadowy and nameless person, who appeared for a short time at Philadelphia in the autumn of 1775. Bonvouloir sent to France in December of that year an elaborate report, representing himself as entirely in the confidence of the Committee of Secret Correspondence which Congress had appointed to manage the foreign relations of the United States. He probably lied; and, indeed, the whole conduct of the personage is not such as to inspire confidence. Yet a closer examination of his letter than is possible in the printed copy might prove interesting. We know that he was instructed to use sympathetic ink. He calls attention in his report to the words in that document that are underlined, but these, when examined, have no evident significance. Some communication in cipher is not impossible.

A far more interesting and important agent than Bonvouloir appears on the scene at about the same time with him. This is no other than Pierre Augustin Caron, known to the world as Beaumarchais, watchmaker and courtier, author and financier, swindler and man of genius Was Beaumarchais really attached in his heart to the independence of America and the glory of France? We are inclined to believe it; for the greatest scamp may have feelings, and the affections of this one were warm. But why did the French Government show him such marked favor? He was not yet one of the literary glories of France, and if his name were conspicuously before the public, it was hardly so in a way to conciliate the feelings of administrators. He had defied a court of justice and brought it into not unmerited contempt. He had been employed in some of the more crooked and hidden paths of diplomacy, and had managed to get himself arrested at Vienna on very reasonable suspicion of swindling the French court by pretending to effect the destruction of a libel on Marie Antoinette, which libel was believed either to be non-existent or to have been written by Beaumarchais himself. Why did ministers of state read and lay before the King reports in which the self-importance of the writer often sinks into impudence? Why did they entrust millions of livres to a speculator whose financial reputation was shady at best? Perhaps it was because he was such an amusing scamp, and Ministers who are courtiers like to be amused. In any case, the United States had in Beaumarchais an invaluable friend—indiscreet, but most energetic—who probably expected to make his fortune out of them, and whom they treated very shabbily in the end.

About the middle of 1776 Silas Deane, the first American envoy, arrived in Paris, to be followed at the end of the year by Dr. Franklin and by the Virginian, Arthur Lee. Throughout 1777 the diplomatic game went on. Franklin and his colleagues asked for a treaty of commerce, for arms, and for permission to sell prizes in French ports; and proposed a defensive and even an offensive alliance. Vergennes encouraged them, but granted little open help, and tried meanwhile to bring the Spanish court into a hearty acquiescence in his views. He urged that a reconciliation between the colonies and the mother country was what the Bourbon courts had most to fear. "For would not the English," said he, "powerfully armed as they are, wish to take an indemnity for the cessions which they would make to their colonies, at the expense of the two crowns? . . . We may equal them in numbers, but we cannot hide from ourselves the fact that the English surpass us as eminently in experience at sea and in skill in manœuvres, as we surpass them in the nobility and disinterestedness of our views." Lord Stormont on his side encouraged the idea of a reconciliation, with the purpose of keeping Vergennes uneasy. It was, apparently, as a part of this last plan that a secret interview was arranged between a young American named Carmichael, who acted as an unofficial secretary to the commissioners, and a person unknown. The interview took place at night in the Place Vendôme, at the foot of the statue of Louis XIV., which then stood where the column now is. The conditions proposed were just those so dreaded by Vergennes, viz., the recognition by England of American independence, and an expedition against the French and Spanish possessions in America. It was said that at a later interview Lord Stormont's secretary had confirmed these proposals. If this be true, there is little doubt that his master was quite ready to disavow him.

Another curious affair is considered at length in these pages. This is the scheme of the Comte Charles François de Broglie, who hoped to supersede Washington and become the generalissimo of the Americans. This strange plot was discovered by Friedrich Kapp in the papers of General de Kalb, who was to have been the principal agent in its execution. It would be interesting to learn what steps were taken by the latter in America towards its fulfilment, and how he became convinced that it could not succeed.

The first two volumes of M. Doniol's book end with the account of the treaties of commerce and of alliance between France and the United States, which were concluded hurriedly, without the adhesion of Spain, on the receipt of the news of Burgoyne's surrender. We look forward with expectation to the two volumes that are yet to come, which will deal with the part taken by France in the war, and with the negotiations for peace.

M. Doniol's own narrative is clear and well written. His extensive quotations from papers in the French archives form a large part of the book, and are both interesting and well edited. The work will take a place beside the monumental collections of President Sparks and the careful history of Mr. Bancroft, amplifying and elucidating them. It will throw fresh light on the history of the United States and on that of France. It contains no startling historical revelations, but it is henceforth indispensable to all thorough students of the period to which it relates.

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BOOKS ABOUT THE STAGE.

History of the American Theatre before the Revolution. By George O. Seilhamer. Philadelphia: Globe Printing House.

The Annals of the Edinburgh Stage, with an Account of the Rise and Progress of Dramatic Writing in Scotland. By James C. Dibdin. Edinburgh: Richard Cameron.

The Life of Mrs. Catherine Clive, with an Account of Her Adventures on and off the Stage, a Round of Her Characters, together with Her Correspondence. By Percy Fitzgerald. London: A. Reader.

Une Première par Jour: Causeries sur le Théâtre. Par Albert Soubies. Paris: Dupret; New York: F. W. Christern.

Encyclopédie de l'Art Dramatique. Par Edmond Béquet. Paris: Dalou; New York: F. W. Christern.

Les Mémoires d'un Dompteur. Par Bidel. Paris: Librairie de l'Art; New York: F. W. Christern.

PERHAPS the best book about the stage in our language is Colley Cibber's 'Apology,' and perhaps the second best is the late G. H. Lewes's 'Actors and Acting,' both being written from abundant knowledge, sound in theory, and having a literary flavor. Such books come to the student of the stage but seldom, and, in default of such, the next best books are careful local histories, of which the first two volumes on our list are fair specimens. Mr. Seilhamer has set himself the task of telling anew, after Dunlap and Ireland, the story of the vicissitudes and the growth of the theatre in America, chiefly in New York and Philadelphia, before the Revolution. Mr. Dibdin, a member of a family honorably connected with the stage through several generations, attempts to set forth for the first time the full story of the theatre in the capital of Scotland. These books are welcome and well made, and reveal honest labor and abundant love for the subject, without which the accomplishment of the task would have been impossible.

Mr. Seilhamer's chief defect as an historian of the stage—and it is a most annoying defect—is a desire to disprove every assertion made by every preceding writer on his subject. That he does disprove some of them is no excuse whatever for his attitude of constant antagonism to all his predecessors. Toward Dunlap he is especially violent. Now, no doubt, Dunlap blundered occasionally; but he has deserved well of all lovers of the drama in America, and it would become Mr. Seilhamer to note his shortcomings with lenity. No comparison of skill as a writer is possible between Dunlap and Mr. Seilhamer, for Dunlap had a style and had studied our language; and a comparison of temper is also altogether in Dunlap's favor. Mr. Seilhamer even carries over to the recently organized Dunlap Society his hatred of Dunlap, and (p. 72) declares that the Society in one of its publications included a certain epilogue as by a certain Singleton, "thus perpetuating the mistaken assumption of the historian after whom the Society was named." We incline to the belief that Mr. Seilhamer is not a member of the Dunlap Society, or, if he is, that he has not taken the trouble to examine Mr. Hutton's excellent collection of poetical addresses, from which the epilogue to which he refers is absolutely absent. Despite this defect, and although it is not always easy to follow the thread of his story, in the main Mr. Seilhamer's work is praiseworthy He has seemingly spared no pains in the collection of material and in the preparation of lists of parts played by the different actors of the earlier companies. The comparisons of casts of the same play in succeeding years are also useful. The typography of the history is excellent. We may note that the author nowhere alludes to Dr. Edward Eggleston's researches into pre-Revolutionary theatrical history, published two or three years ago in the *Century;* apparently he is ignorant of them.

To go from Dunlap's 'History of the American Theatre' to Mr. Dibdin's 'Annals of the Edinburgh Stage' is to get a curious contrast; and yet it is easy to find not a few points of similarity. It is well known that plays were acted in New England (when the Puritan feeling was yet too strong to permit the opening of a regular theatre) as the gratuitous accompaniment of a concert for which the tickets were sold. Now in Mr. Dibdin's book (p. 54) we see that precisely the same device was adopted in 1743 in Edinburgh by Mr. Este. When we come down to the period which Dunlap knew, we find that the playgoers of Edinburgh and the playgoers of New York were going to see almost exactly the same plays. In America, it may be that there was a little more of the Teutonic sentimentality of the Kotzebue kind than there was in Scotland; and this was due, no doubt, in great measure to Dunlap's own labors as an adapting dramatist. In Scotland, on the other hand, there was a far greater proportion of dramatizations of the Waverley novels, which were more in number and which had a far greater success than in America, as might readily be expected. Mr. Dibdin's account of Scott's relation to the stage and to stage folk is pleasantly interesting. He tells at length also the story of the tragedy of "Douglas," by the production of which a Scotch clergyman was supposed to have snuffed out Shakspere; indeed, the heartfelt outcry of a Scotchman is recorded by Mr. Dibdin (p. 87): "Whaur's yer Wully Shakspere noo?"—which is oddly like the "Enfoncé, Racine!" of the Romanticists after the success of the "Henri III." of Dumas at the Théâtre-Français. In the days when "Douglas" was produced, and well into the present century, we see that a condition obtained in Edinburgh now to be seen nowhere except possibly in a few provincial towns of France and Germany. The regular playgoers were a small, compact body, loving the theatre, learned in its arts, knowing each other, and wanting their own way. The O. P. riots would not only be impossible now—they are almost inconceivable. From among the mass of interesting details in Mr. Dibdin's carefully compounded volume, we select only one, of a certain timeliness just now that Mr. Lester Wallack has so recently passed away. There was a circus in Edinburgh in 1791, and a Mr. and Mrs. Wallack were in the company; and it was in Edinburgh in 1792 that they first ventured on the dramatic boards.

Neither Mr. Seilhamer nor Mr. Dibdin is to be congratulated on his literary style, but either is a paragon in comparison with Mr. Percy Fitzgerald, who wrote badly when he began, and who writes worse year by year. His biographical sketch of Kitty Clive is just what might be expected. It contains most of the available material, pitchforked together. The facts are before the reader, for Mr. Fitzgerald has made himself acquainted with the history, memoirs, and ana of the eighteenth century; and the picture of Clive which the reader forms after perusing Mr. Fitzgerald's pages is probably accurate enough. But it is a torture to read anything so painfully ill-written, in which bad English strives with bad French. On p. 32, for example, we are told that Macklin was "more or less *lièd* (*sic*) with the manager." But Mr. Fitzgerald does not ordinarily need two languages to write badly in: he stumbles over every "and which" and "and who"; and in this turn of phrase he abounds. To make the matter worse, the book bristles with misprints, Congreve's *Miss Prue* appearing as Miss "Price," for instance. There is a frontispiece reproduction of Faber's portrait. The book has a neat vellum binding, with a decent leather label.

M. Albert Soubies, to whom we owe the always beautiful and useful annual volumes of the *Almanach des Spectacles*, has succeeded in making a sort of theatrical calendar. The date of the production of a new play in Paris is called a *première*, and M. Soubies, searching through the long history of the French drama, has found one *première* for every day in the year, from January 1 to December 31. About each *première* he gossips a little, more or less as its importance demands, and so he has furnished forth a book of four hundred pages, carefully indexed, and containing not a few notes of value. Thus, in recording the performance in 1883 of the garden scene of Boïto's "Mefistofele," M. Soubies draws attention to the sluggishness of the French opera-houses, in that Parisian lovers of music have not yet heard Wagner's operas, or Ponchielli's "La Gioconda," or Goldmark's "Queen of Sheba," or Nessler's "Rat-Catcher," or the whole of Boïto's opera, or any of the great Russian operas. "We are not curious in France," is the French critic's comment on the fact he records. M. Soubies's book is full of anecdotes; it is, in the language of the literary advertisements, just the Book for a Leisure Half-Hour.

The last two titles on the list may be dismissed briefly. An Encyclopædia of Dramatic Art is a book greatly to be desired—but M. Béquet has not met the want. His is a dull and dry compilation, of little or no utility. In the 'Grande Duchesse de Gérolstein' *Fritz*, at the end of the play, requests an appointment as schoolmaster. "Can you read?" he is asked. "No; it is to learn," is his frank answer. A perusal of M. Béquet's book suggests a doubt whether it did not proceed from his ignorance. But he has not always taught himself to advantage: it would be easy to instance many articles in his cyclopædia which are misleading and some which are absolutely wrong. The preface is a masterpiece of self-satisfied and pretentious ignorance.

For years "Bidel et ses fauves" have been favorites of the Parisian public, appearing, now in some melodrama in which a victim is thrown to the lions, and now exhibiting themselves in one or another of the suburban fairs which succeed each other in the environs of Paris throughout the summer. M. Bidel's autobiography is not without interest, although it is not quite as exciting as the illuminated cover and the flamboyant illustrations by M. Paul Cousturier might lead the intending purchaser to believe. At the end we have an account of the useful Mutual Benefit Organization which M. Bidel formed among his fellow-showmen, and of which he seems justly proud. He prints its statutes in full in a final chapter. There is a touch of natural bravado here and there throughout the book; but in the main M. Bidel is modest enough. Therefore we incline to the belief—and we express the hope—that the artist is solely responsible for the portrait, supported by two lions rampant, and bearing the motto, "Leo inter Leones."

Birds in Nature. By R. Bowdler Sharpe, F.L.S., F.Z.S., etc. With thirty-nine colored plates and other illustrations by P. Robert

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Boston: Estes & Lauriat, 1888. Large 4to, pp. vi, 78.

Song Birds and Seasons. By André Theuriet. Illustrated by Hector Giacomelli. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. Imp. 8vo, pp. xvi, 200, profusely illustrated.

THESE two luxurious volumes, sumptuous in every detail, fit to adorn any centre-table, and alike of the gift-book class, are yet quite unlike each other, appealing to different tastes. Their titles exchanged would suit just as well, and either might be called "Birds in a Book," or "Birds in Season"—for the holidays.

Robert's remarkable colored plates have been out for some time. We think we first saw them about ten years ago, in a "portfolio" edition; but whether then accompanied with French text or not, our memory does not serve us to say. Whether one likes them depends upon what kind of pictures one likes. They are the work of an artist who has seen birds through hot and highly-colored glasses, and are chromo-lithographed with a wealth of tint we have never seen equalled in this kind of work. They are gorgeous and bizarre; perhaps not more strained in color-effect than in drawing, too, for the postures of some of the birds come dangerously near those conventionalized figures we see on dados and other wall decorations, while in the plain head- and tail-pieces in the text this formalism of the artist is indulged without restraint. Perhaps "Frenchy" is the most comprehensive adjective we could apply. But the pictures are far above the ordinary style of colored illustrations; they hold us with a singular fascination, and, after challenging, they defy our adverse criticism. The pansied bower in which the redstart is quivering with passion, overcomes us as easily as it does the bird's coy mate.

The text of this edition is new, and a stranger collusion of the ink-horn and the palette would be far to seek. We are minded of a couple of well-known phrases. One of these is "John Bull"; the other is "china-shop." The English author goes gunning for the French artist in the most orthodox ornithological fashion, and bags his bird at every one of the thirty-nine articles of his creed. (We beg pardon for mixing metaphors: we meant to say, of the thirty-nine shots he fires at the pictures.) Whether he has aimed high or low, written up or down, depends upon the relative standing we assign to science and art. Mr. Sharpe is the keeper of the Ornithological Department of the British Museum; the author, to a greater extent than any one else, of the fourteen volumes of the British Museum Catalogue of Birds, which are, nevertheless, not among the foremost of the many great works which have flowed from his indefatigable pen since his famous 'Monograph of the Kingfishers' appeared in 1871. Probably no man now living surpasses Sharpe in extent and accuracy of technical knowledge of birds, and certainly not half-a-dozen in the world are his peers. What, then, is he doing to Robert's designs? He is furnishing, from the depths of his consciousness and other available sources of information, public and private, thirty-nine sheets of reading matter to be interleaved with the plates; and he does it faithfully.

The other one of the two volumes in hand is not less complete in the furnishings requisite to the make-up of a book *de luxe*. Giacomelli supplied the exquisite illustrations for Michelet's 'L'Oiseau,' and how many other æsthetic and imaginative works are indebted to his dainty pencil we do not know. In this one we have a hundred or more engravings from his designs—four or five to each of the subjects of M. Theuriet's text—in the form of full-page prints, borders prettily enclosing poetry of invincible appropriateness, initials, head-pieces and tail-pieces, all in perfect taste and keeping with the purpose of the manufacturer of the volume.

We sometimes wonder whether a regular scientist is ever competent to pass judgment upon the illustrations of his craft, when these exceed the fixed limits of "diagrams" by the boundlessness of art. He is mostly a simple-minded creature, with a wonderful quality of directness and literalness, capable of being unpleasantly affected by the sight of a painting of a historical battle-scene if he cannot count the nails in the shoes of the horses, or of a fish leaping to the fly without exposing all its hypopharyngeal and branchiostegal appurtenances. If he be an ornithologist, he wants his birds—not exactly wooden, for that would be too light and airy—but of Bessemer steel, in silhouette, broadside on, with the microscopic texture, if not the molecular structure, in bold relief. So he reserves a private opinion when he sees Giacomelli's aërial prettinesses, being satisfied that no bird ever looks like that. The scientist is quite right: birds never "look like that" after passing through his hands as specimens; but they do ruffle up their feathers and take a thousand instantaneous poses that few of us know, and fewer still can catch and fix on paper. Giacomelli's pencil has always seemed to us peculiarly happy in expressing the thoughts and feelings of birds by their attitudes, and he is never better than when he puts a tender touch upon the helpless little fledglings in their nest. The whole series of designs is tasteful and pleasing; for such small pieces in plain black and white, they are wonderfully effective.

This volume is liberally supplied with text, several pages to each subject, both in prose and verse, sufficiently various to suit any reasonable range of taste. Whether the translation has lost a charm which the original possessed, or has gained a new grace of its own, we are unable to say. There are, doubtless, those who read the text of elegantly illustrated gift-books, else enterprising publishers would cease to furnish these volumes with such materials. In this case the text is printed at the University Press—which warrants us in supposing it contains scarcely a typographical error—and it flows smoothly from beginning to end of the book.

Heinrich Heine's Autobiographie. Nach seinen Werken, Briefen und Gesprächen. Herausgegeben von Gustav Karpeles. Berlin: Robert Oppenheim; New York: B. Westermann & Co. 1888. 8vo, pp. 586.

THIS volume is a compilation of the autobiographic passages so abundantly scattered throughout the published writings of Heine; but, although nothing but a compilation, it is not without value, and all classes of readers will find in it something to make it welcome. It cannot help doing a useful work in making the peculiar gifts of the poet known to many who lack the time or the inclination to read his whole works, and who here can get a very good taste of his quality.

Some controversy concerning Heine's position in German literature has recently sprung up in his native land, and the most absurd attempts have been made to deny him the fame to which he is so richly entitled. One anonymous scribbler has gone so far as to assert that this great master of style could not write his own language correctly; and, in support of his assertion, cites instances of elisions of a final vowel, made for the sake of the metre. The controversy derives its only interest from the circumstance that it is involved in the anti-Semitic agitation, and shows once more the folly of mixing literature with politics. Literature is perennial, politics are shifting and temporary. We have a mild illustration among ourselves, in the wild assaults made on one of our greatest living writers by newspaper editors to whom his political views are uncongenial. Heine attached great importance to his political writings, and looked on himself as a soldier of liberty. The political causes for which he fought are, for the most part, as dead as Julius Cæsar; but what he wrote about them will never die, and will be read for its style by generations to whom its subject-matter is indifferent. In this respect he is far beyond men like Swift and Defoe, to whom he has otherwise some resemblance, but whose political pamphlets are almost unreadable to any one who has not an intimate acquaintance with the period which produced them.

Many students of Heine to whom his works are as familiar as household words, have given less attention to his letters, and for such the copious extracts from his correspondence will form the chief attraction of the present volume. Naturally, Heine's letters are even fuller than his other writings of references to himself, and afford much material for an autobiography. He was as fond of talking about himself as Montaigne; and although he did not live in as naïve a time as the French essayist, his egotism is not a whit more offensive. When he speaks of the excellence of his books—when, at the age of twenty-seven, he writes to Varnhagen, "You may expect many more right good books from me"; when, alluding to Goethe's word, "Nur die Lumpe sind bescheiden," he says that he will not deny his poetic fame with the false modesty invented by men of no account; when he justly boasts that none of his countrymen won the laurel at as early an age as he did; when he relates that the first European book published in the Japanese language was a translation of his poems; when, in many other passages, he openly proclaims his full consciousness of his rank as a poet—he never strikes the reader as being arrogant, any more than does Milton when he declares that he will write something that the world will not willingly let die.

It need hardly be said that the book is full of specimens of Heine's wit. It would be impossible to dip anywhere into his pages without bringing up abundance of it. This applies to his private correspondence as well as to his works generally. In a letter to August Lewald in November, 1836, he relates that he was in danger of drowning in the Seine. A river steamer tipped to one side, the ladies on deck screamed like mad, but he pacified them by saying: "Fear nothing, ladies, we are all under the protection of the law." He adds that mere politeness would have required him not to get drowned before receiving an answer from the German Diet to a petition which he had addressed to that body. Writing at about the same date to another friend for a loan of 400 thalers, he says: "As regards my solvency, I must tell you at the same time that at this moment my affairs stand so badly that only a fool or a friend would lend me money." The gout he describes as a *juste-milieu* sickness, seemingly invented by Louis Philippe, of which one can neither live nor die—a cholera without danger or romance. His wife he calls his *atra cura*. When he is suffering from toothache, he says that if he had the choice between a bad conscience and a bad tooth, he would choose the former. In describing one who impressed him unpleasantly, he said that he could tell by

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the tone of his voice that he was one of those people who are painted gray inside and have wooden bowels. In a letter to Alexander Dumas, he mentions that a servant whom he once had, and who had seen him dictate for days at a time, when asked about his profession, said: "My master is a Dictator."

Heine's attachment to his family is made more conspicuous in this book by the collocation of detached passages scattered through his writings. He always writes with great affection of his parents, and describes even their foibles with a loving hand. He details with much humor the various ambitious plans which his mother cherished for his future greatness, now in one walk of life, now in another. He relates that she was economical for herself, but could be lavish for the pleasure of others; and as she did not love money, but only esteemed it, she gave it away with a light hand. She sold all her jewels to enable him to attend the university for four years. His father, a very handsome man, had at one time been a commissary in the army of Prince Ernest of Cumberland, afterwards King of Hanover, and had, in that service, contracted expensive tastes, for the gaming table, for actresses, for horses and dogs, and the like. Out of love for his wife he established himself as a merchant in Düsseldorf, but his temperament and inclinations did not qualify him for success in business. Heine says that one day, when some of his irreverent remarks were reported to his father, accompanied with an accusation of atheism, the latter gave him the longest lecture he had ever had, as follows:

"My dear son, your mother allows you to study philosophy under Rector Schallmeyer. That is her affair. For my part, I do not like philosophy, for it is pure superstition, and I am a merchant and need my wits for my business. You may be as much of a philosopher as you wish, but I beg you not to say openly what you think, for it would hurt my business if my customers learned that I had a son who does not believe in God; the Jews, particularly, would buy no more velveteens of me, and they are honest men, pay promptly, and are quite right to stick to their religion. I am your father, and consequently older than you and more experienced; therefore you may take my word for it, if I permit myself to tell you that atheism is a great sin."

How much of this speech is Heine's own, the reader must guess for himself.

Heine's money troubles, his bad health, his persecution by the German governments, his quarrels with his friends and relatives, his many disappointments, his controversies with his publisher, well known as they all have been for years, are here brought together in such a way as to vindicate him from some of the harsh accusations made against him in the past, and now revived in Germany. Severe judges will regard some of his traits with disapproval; but the more charitably inclined, mindful of the proverbial infirmities of genius, will acquit him of all meanness or lack of principle, and will consider that, on the whole, he is deserving of sympathy rather than of condemnation.

The Sunday-School: Its Origin, Mission, Methods, and Auxiliaries. (The Lyman Beecher Lectures before Yale Divinity School, for 1888.) By H. Clay Trumbull. Philadelphia: John D. Wattles. 1888.

THE spell of the Theological Seminary must have been upon Mr. Trumbull to make him open his course of lectures with this definition: "A Sunday-school is an agency of the Church by which the Word of God is taught interlocutorily, or catechetically, to children and other learners clustered in groups or classes under separate teachers; all these groups and classes being associated under a common head." But his little fishes soon stop talking like whales, and the author's acknowledged learning, industry, and literary skill are well displayed in the 400 pages that follow. Identifying the modern Sunday-school with the synagogue instruction in the Torah and with the catechetical schools of the early Church, he treats of its Jewish origin and Christian adoption, gives an outline of its history for seventeen centuries, details its modern revival and expansion, and discusses the many questions pertaining to its administration and its relation to the family and the Church. All this is done with characteristic thoroughness and ability. One might protest against some of his rather extravagant claims for the Sunday-school, as, for example, that the want of it was the principal cause of the "dark ages," and that "America has been practically saved to Christianity and the religion of the Bible by the Sunday-school;" but this is at once recognized and pardoned as the enthusiasm of a specialist. We note, too, that the grave distrust of the whole Sunday-school movement felt and expressed by eminent leaders of the Church, the late Dr. R. D. Hitchcock for instance, is rather put aside than squarely met. A capital index rounds out the book.

The Life and Life-work of Behramji M. Malabari. By Dayaram Gidumal, LL.B., C.S. Bombay: Education Society's Press. 1888.

THIS book offers more samples of that curious, almost hybrid, culture and civilization which English occupation of India has produced. The subject of this biographical sketch—for it is but a sketch—is still living, not having yet reached the age of forty. He early won fame as a poet, first in Gujarati and later in English. Of the quality of his verse in the former language we cannot judge, but of his "Indian Muse in English Garb" it appears to be safe to say that the cleverness shown in the use of an alien tongue is greater than the excellence of the poetry. As a journalist, Malabari's work has been associated with the *Indian Spectator*, which he has made, perhaps, the leading periodical edited by natives and printed in English. The last few years he has given to a tireless agitation for social reform, his efforts being mainly directed to the abolition of the system of infant marriages and enforced widowhood. It is undoubtedly as a contribution to this programme of reform that the biography has been prepared by the hand of a friend. The copious selections from Malabari's writings and speeches, which are appended, yield a good idea of his ability and activity, and, it would seem, self-sacrifice. The religious note of the book may be gathered from its dedication to Ram Mohan Roy and Keshub Chunder Sen. Brought into close contact with Christian missionaries, and acknowledging great indebtedness to them, particularly to the famous Dr. Wilson, Malabari adheres to the religion of his fathers, finding, apparently, that it is as easy to spiritualize Zoroastrianism as Christianity.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Balfour, A. J. The Religion of Humanity. Edinburgh: David Douglas.
Bamberger, L. National. Berlin: Rosenbaum & Hart
Barton, S. The Battle of the Swash, and the Capture of Canada. C. T. Dillingham. 50 cents.
Beard, Rev. C. The Universal Christ, and Other Sermons, Preached in Liverpool. G. P. Putnam's Sons.
Beneke, W. The Human Foot: A Few Practical Words on the Covering and Protecting of It. The Author.
Bentzon, Th. Le Mariage de Jacques. Paris: Calmann Lévy; New York: F. W. Christern.
Berger, Prof. F. French Conversations, Idiomatic Expressions and Proverbs. F. Berger.
Besant, W. The World Went Very Well Then. Harper & Bros.
Besant-Rice. 'Twas in Trafalgar's Bay, and Other Stories. Library ed. Dodd, Mead & Co. $1.50.
Black, W. In Far Lochaber. Harper & Bros.
Bray, S. Alice. The Baby's Journal. A. D. F. Randolph & Co. $1.50.
Brooks, Rev. P. O Little Town of Bethlehem. E. P. Dutton & Co. 75 cents.
Browning, O. Aspects of Education. Industrial Education Association.
Bruce, Prof. A. B. The Training of the Twelve; or, Passages out of the Gospels Exhibiting the Disciples of Jesus under Discipline for the Apostleship. A. C. Armstrong & Co. $2.50.
Burnham, Clara Louise. Young Maids and Old. Boston: Ticknor & Co. $1.50.
Butterworth, H. Zig-Zag Journeys to the Antipodes. Illustrated. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. $1.75.
Calkins, Rev. W. Keystones of Faith; or, What and Why We Believe. The Baker and Taylor Co. 75 cents.
Clarke, J. E. Chatterbox. 1888. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. $1.25.
Clement, R. E. Studies of the Federal Constitution. Arranged for Schools. A. Lovell & Co.
Coffin, C. C. Marching to Victory: The Second Period of the War of the Rebellion. Harper & Bros.
Conway, M. D. Omitted Chapters of History Disclosed in the Life and Papers of Edmund Randolph, Governor of Virginia, etc. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $3.
Coöperation in Christian Work. The Baker & Taylor Co.
Cowper, W. The Diverting History of John Gilpin. Illustrated by H. Rosa. George Routledge & Sons. $1.50.
Cruger, Mary. How She Did It; or, Comfort on $150 a Year. D. Appleton & Co.
Dodd, Anna Bowman. Glorinda: A Story. Boston: Roberts Bros. 75 cents.
Edward, Earl of Clarendon. The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars of England, begun in the Year 1641. Reëdited by W. D. Macray from a fresh collation of the Original MS. in the Bodleian Library. In 6 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan.
Edwards, G. W. Sundry Rhymes from the Days of our Grandmothers. Illustrated. A. D. F. Randolph & Co. $4.
Etheridge, R. Fossils of the British Islands. Vol. I. Palæozoic, comprising the Cambrian, Silurian, Devonian, Carboniferous, and Permian Species. Oxford: Clarendon Press. New York: Macmillan.
Ewart, H. C. Leaders Upward and Onward: Brief Biographies of Noble Workers. Thomas Whittaker. $1.50.
Familiar Rhymes from Mother Goose. With New Pictures by Chester Loomis. E. P. Dutton & Co.
Firth, J. C. Our Kin Across the Sea. Longmans, Green & Co.
Fuller, E. The Dramatic Year. 1887–1888. With a Sketch of the Season in London by William Archer. Boston: Ticknor & Co. $1.
Gerard, Dorothea. Orthodox: A Tale. D. Appleton & Co.
Gibbons, J. Tenure and Toil; or, Rights and Wrongs of Property and Labor. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. $1.50.
Goethe, J. W. von. Hermann and Dorothea. Translated by E. A. Bowring. Illustrated. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co.
Goldsmith, O. The Traveller. Illustrated. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co.
Hale, Lucretia P. Faggots for the Fireside. A Collection of Games for Evenings at Home and Social Parties. Boston: Ticknor & Co. $1.25.
Hamilton, J. A. Life of Daniel O'Connell. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 75 cents.
Hawthorne, J. Mother's Crime: From the Diary of Inspector Byrnes. Cassell & Co. $1.
Hints About Men's Dress. By a New York Clubman. D. Appleton & Co.
Holmes, N. Realistic Idealism in Philosophy Itself. 2 vols. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $5.
Ketchum, Annie Chambers. Botany for Academies and Colleges. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. $1.
Kirk, H. C. When Age Grows Young: A Romance. C. D. Dillingham. 50 cents.
Koopman, H. L. Woman's Will: A Love-Play in Five Acts. With Other Poems. Buffalo: Moulton, Wenborne & Co.
Lillie, Lucy C. The Household of Glen Holly. Illustrated. Harper & Bros.
Lubbock, Sir J. On the Senses, Instincts, and Intelligence of Animals, with special reference to Insects. Illustrated. D. Appleton & Co.
Mackenzie, Sir Morell. Frederick the Noble. Brentano.
Malleson, Col. G. B. Life of Prince Metternich. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 75 cents.
Mason, E. T. British Letters, Illustrative of Character and Social Life. 3 vols. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $4.50.
Maxwell, W. H. Introductory Lessons in English Grammar. A. S. Barnes & Co. 50 cents.
Munsey, F. A. The Boy Brokers; or, Among the Kings of Wall Street. Frank A. Munsey & Co. $2.
Norwood, T. M. Plutocracy; or, American White Slavery: A Politico-Social Novel. American News Co.
Ober, F. A. The Knockabout Club in the Antilles. Illustrated. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. $1.50.
Peard, Frances Mary. To Horse and Away. Illustrated. Thomas Whittaker. $1.05.
Peck, Prof. W. G. Elementary Treatise on Determinants. Enlarged ed. A. S. Barnes & Co.
Perry, Nora. The Youngest Miss Lorton, and Other Stories. Boston: Ticknor & Co. $1.50.
Pollard, A. Sir Philip Sidney's Astrophel and Stella. Edited from the folio edition of 1598. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. $1.75.
Porter, J. G. Our Celestial Home: An Astronomer's View of Heaven. A. D. F. Randolph & Co. $1.
Problems of American Civilization. The Baker & Taylor Co.
Proctor, R. A. Great Circle Sailing. Longmans, Green & Co.
Quick Cooking: A Book of Culinary Heresies. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $1.
Rabbe, F. Shelley: The Man and the Poet. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. $2.
Roberts, E. Shoshone, and Other Western Wonders. Illustrated. Harper & Bros.
Roe, E. P. "Miss Lou." Dodd, Mead & Co. $1.50.
Shepherd, H. A. Antiquities of the State of Ohio. Illustrated. Cincinnati: John C. Yorston & Co.
Smith, Helen A. Stories of Persons and Places in America. Illustrated. George Routledge & Sons. $1.50.
Sorel, A. Montesquieu. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. $1.
Spurgeon, Rev. C. H. The Cheque-Book of the Bank of Faith. A. C. Armstrong & Co. $1.
Stables, G. The Dashing Days of Old. The World-Wide Adventures of Willie Grant. Illustrated. Thomas Whittaker. $1.50.
Talbot, C. R. Romulus and Remus: A Dog Story. Illustrated. Boston: D. Lothrop Co. $1.
The Mapleson Memoirs. 1848–1888. 2 vols. Belford, Clarke & Co.

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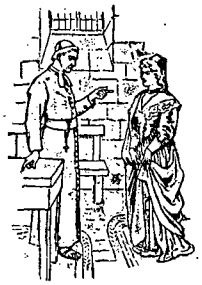

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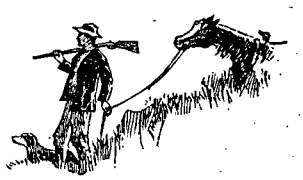

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